HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Is the 'LBJ Label' Becoming a Handicap?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

They keep saying that "local issues" have been the determining factors in some of the recent Democratic upsets in the primaries. But when a "local issue" recoils in fairly quick succession against three incumbent U.S. senators who were running with the Lyndon Johnson brand on them, it is perhaps inevitable that the defeats, in the eyes of skeptics on Capitol Hill, should be attributed more to the "LBJ" common denominator element than to purely local troubles.

Capitol Hill critics of Johnson began to put two and two together, as they see it, when Sen. Ross Bass of Tennessee lost out in the Democratic senatorial primary to Gov. Frank G. Clement. Bass, as was noted some time ago in this column, was in bad with a number of his constituents because he had voted in the Senate for repeal of 14b, the section of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits Tennessee, among other states, to retain its own right-to-work law.

While Lyndon Johnson was never particularly fervent about repeal of 14b, the effort to legislate universal compulsory unionism was still rated as an Administration measure by a crucial number of Tennesseeans. What seems to complete the picture in the Tennessee situation is that Clement had gone around the state telling the people that Bass was a "rubber stamp for LBJ."

In the Tennessee gubernatorial primary Buford Ellington, who managed to beat a "Kennedy man," began his campaign by offering himself as the "friend of the President," but he quickly changed his tune when this seemed to be getting him little yardage. It could be that Ellington won solely because his opponent, John J. Hooker Jr., ran with the Bobby Kennedy label on him. Bobby and Lyndon are about equally popular, or unpopular, in Tennessee.

The licking taken by Ross Bass in the Tennessee primary caused a quick reassessment of the July defeat of incumbent Sen. A. Willis Robertson by William B. Spong Jr. in the Virginia primary polls. Everyone had been saying that Robertson lost because of his age and the fact that the "bankers were for him." But now it is being whispered that Robertson missed out by a hair (he lost by a mere 611 votes) because he had the "LBJ brand" on him as chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

Robertson had gone along with the fiscal and monetary policies of Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler, his fellow Virginian, and these policies, as it has seemed to the anti-LBJ element on the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, have obstructed the flow of capital in America without doing a good compensating job of either paying for the Vietnamese war or stemming the snowballing inflation. Whether it is significant or not, young Harry Byrd, who was running for the other Virginia senatorial seat, did not seek out any White House blessing. Byrd won.

Many candidates are thought to be wary of having the President campaign for them this year because of Administration unpopularity.

Going back still further into the recent past, there is the June defeat of incumbent Sen. Donald S. Russell in the South Carolina primary. Russell had originally gone to the Senate to fill out a portion of the term of Sen. Olin D. Johnston, who died in 1965. He was, in effect, a "self-appointed" man, for he had resigned as governor of the state with the full assurance that his successor would name him to the vacant Senate seat.

Russell's opponent in the June primary, former Gov. Ernest F. Hollings, made great forensic capital by talking of Russell as a "drop-out governor" as well as a "self-appointed senator." The fact that Russell has been known as "LBJ's friend," where Hollings was a friend of the late John F. Kennedy, did not openly figure in the campaign. But now Russell's friends in Washington are saying that the "LBJ label" constituted a fatal drag on the Russell chances.

Whether the "LBJ brand" was the common denominator in the rejection of three incumbent Democratic senators is a question that cannot easily be answered. But the apparent emergence of a pattern is disturbing to Democrats such as Sen. Lee Metcalf of Montana and Gov. Pat Brown of California, who aren't noticeably going out of their way to ask White House help in the autumn jousting.

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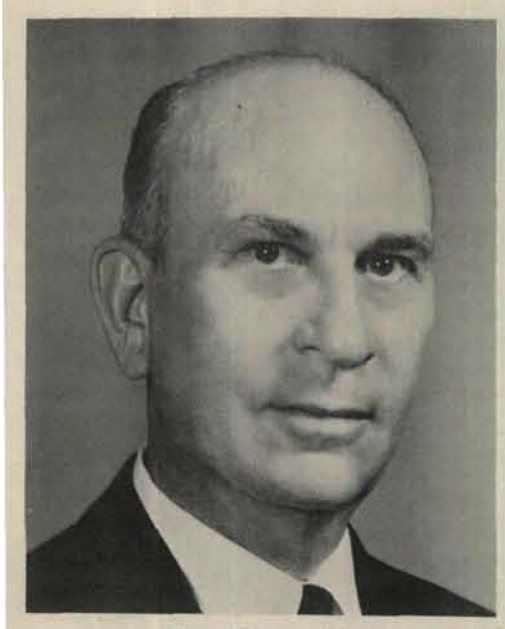
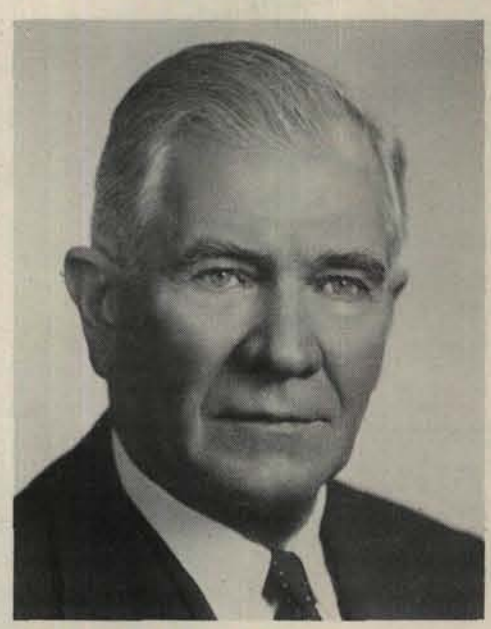
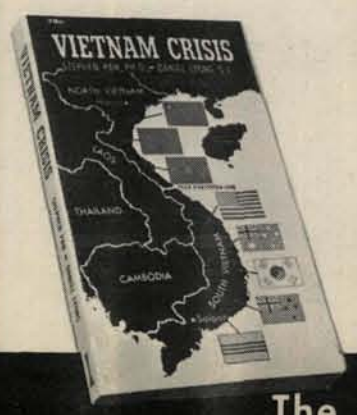




The primary defeats of these three Democratic senators (from left to right)—Donald Russell (S.C.), Ross Bass (Tenn.) and A. Willis Robertson (Va.)—could be an indication of trouble for pro-Administration incumbents this fall.



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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● In attempting to build up a political organization around the country, New York Mayor John Lindsay has sent his lieutenants to work in various campaigns. Among those whom Lindsay aides are helping: Charles Percy, running for a Senate seat in Illinois, and Spiro T. Agnew, candidate for governor of Maryland.

● Robert Williams, head of the pro-Communist Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), whose black nationalist members have received training in Castro's Cuba, has delivered a speech in Peking praising Mao Tse-tung as "our great leader and teacher." Both Stokely Carmichael, head of SNCC, and rent-strike leader Jesse Gray, have recently cooperated with the RAM organization.

● The President received a rude setback last week when Arkansas Democrats nominated for governor Jim Johnson, a staunch Goldwater supporter in 1964. The liberal press has focused on Johnson's segregationist views, but Johnson's victory, say some pros, was due more to his savage assaults against such "Great Society" projects like foreign aid, rent subsidies and the anti-poverty program. Johnson will face Republican Winthrop Rockefeller in November. Though a brother of Nelson, Winthrop is considered a good deal more conservative, having strongly supported such measures as right-to-work.

● A number of Republicans in Massachusetts are becoming disillusioned with Atty. Gen. Edward Brooke, now running for the Senate seat being vacated by the retiring Leverett Saltonstall. According to these GOPers—some of them anti-Goldwater "moderates"—Brooke has surrounded himself with ADA-type advisers, a number of whom appear enthralled with LBJ's "Great Society" programs and other radical ideas, such as having the United States recognize Red China.

● The House Committee on Un-American Activities plans to hold hearings this week on a bill that would make it illegal for American citizens to provide aid to the Viet Cong. At least six groups will be probed: The Viet Nam Day Committee; the May 2nd Movement; the Medical Aid Committee for Viet Nam; the Student Committee to send Medical Aid to the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam; the Committee to Aid the Viet Nam People; and the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam.

● Politicos are predicting that the Administration will call for at least an $11-billion tax hike after the November elections.

● Sen. Clifford Case (R.-N. J.), who normally casts his lot with Big Labor, is expected to get more union support in his re-election race than ever before because of his fight to repeal right-to-work and his vote against Dirksen's reapportionment amendment. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, at least at the national level, is supporting Case and Walter Reuther's Industrial Union Department is backing him. New Jersey labor, which has not offically endorsed a statewide Republican candidate in recent history, is also thinking of openly supporting Case.

● Who supports Bobby Kennedy? James Dinsmoor, Indiana University psychology professor, for one. Dinsmoor, arrested with peace demonstrators during LBJ's recent visit to Indianapolis, says that Democrats in sympathy with ending the war in Viet Nam should form a splinter group to elect Kennedy for President in 1968.

● Representatives Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.) and Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) related last week how the Office of Economic Opportunity "ignored" four experienced firms and gave a $1.3-million engineering contract to a company whose senior vice president had donated $3,000 to the Democratic President's Club and National Committee. Goodell and Quie said the OEO, headquarters for the anti-poverty program, hired Consolidated American Services, Inc. (CONAM), to help select Job Corps center sites and supply engineering services even though the firm had no previous experience in that type of work and only had a one-man Washington office. W. C. Hobbs, the senior vice president of CONAM, joined the firm before the OEO contract was awarded and left the firm after the contract was terminated.

● Letter to the editor of a New York newspaper: "FDR gave us 3.2 per cent beer. LBJ is giving us 3.2 per cent inflation."

● Aid to Yugoslavia has long been defended by Administration officials on the grounds that Marshall Tito is an "independent" Communist who has encouraged the "winds of freedom" to blow across his land. Tito last week demonstrated just how "liberal" he has become by arresting a prominent Yugoslav journalist, Mihajlo Mihajlov, on charges he had "spread false rumors." Actually Mihajlov had hoped to start an "independent Socialist" journal that would have criticized the Yugoslav regime.

● A victory of Sen. Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.) may turn out to be a victory for Bobby Kennedy. Douglas, who's in the fight of his political life in his race against moderate Republican Charles Percy, has asked Bobby Kennedy and Kennedy-prone liberals to salvage his Senate seat. Among the all-star Democratic cast Douglas has enlisted for his campaign: the Kennedy brothers, Senators Birch Bayh (Ind.), Gaylord Nelson (Wis.) and William Proxmire (Wis.), and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. If Douglas wins now, say insiders, he'll owe his political hide to Bobby.

● Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) is continuing his one-man probe of the Federal Housing Administration. The crusading lawmaker disclosed last week that of 17 multi-family projects approved by the FHA in Alaska, 12 have gone bankrupt, with the taxpayer left holding the bag. "In the city of Anchorage," he said, "the situation is even more alarming. Out of a total of seven projects constructed in that city, six projects representing mortgage insurance of $11.6 million had failed, and only one project with FHA insurance of $352,000 was solvent."

● Rep. Thomas Pelly (R.-Wash.) reports that the Job Corps spent $1.9 million last Christmas sending corpsmen home for vacations and bringing them back. "Servicemen on leave from Viet Nam or military posts get no federal money for transportation in the United States," he notes. "They pay their own way."

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Riots: Color Them Red

House lawmakers are demanding an investigation into riots across the country as a result of a grand jury probe of the violence which burst upon Cleveland's Hough area in mid-July.

A jolting, 17-page report issued by the Cuyahoga County grand jury, headed by Louis B. Seltzer, former editor of the Cleveland *Press*, charged the outbreak was "organized, precipitated and exploited by a relatively small group of trained and disciplined professionals at this business." Among those professionals: black nationalists and members of the Communist party.

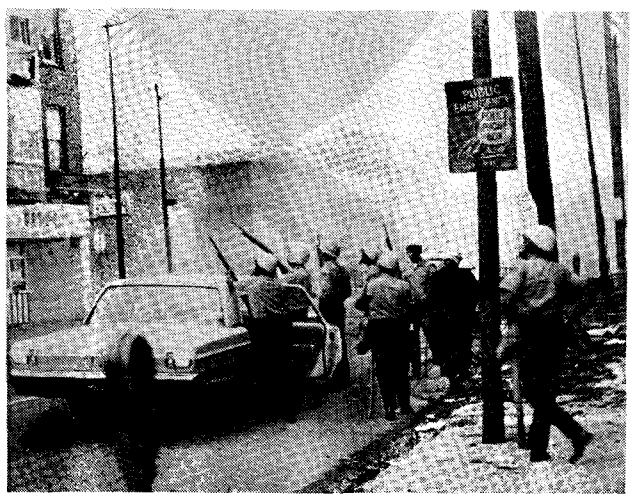
Some 2,000 National Guardsmen had to be called out to quell the firebombing, looting and vandalism which rocked this slum section of Cleveland for 12 days and resulted in the death of four Negroes who died of gunshot wounds. More than 250 fires were set in three nights.

Rep. William Minshall (R.-Ohio) says the revelations that the Communist party played "a leading role in the outbreak of violence" should inspire "an immediate grand-scale congressional investigation of the riots which have been systematically erupting across the nation. I urge and support such an investigation so that the lives and property of the millions of law-abiding and patriotic Americans of all races, colors and creeds will be protected."

Reps. Michael Feighan (D.-Ohio) and William McCulloch (R.-Ohio), both prominent members of the House Judiciary Committee, have also demanded an investigation by Congress.

The Cuyahoga grand jury report, say seasoned political observers, may have a sharp impact on the November elections, for it has rudely upset the pet theory of Administration spokesmen that organized extremists and Communists play only a very small role in the "civil rights" riots which have exploded nationwide.

Black nationalists with a close alliance to Communist groups were the major focus of the grand jury. According to its report, Lewis Robinson,



Helmeted police officers look for a sniper believed to be in building at intersection in Cleveland's troubled Hough area.

founder of the JFK (Jomo Freedom Kenyatta) House for young people was one of the "principal and recurring personalities in the chain of events which preceded" the Hough outbursts.

Youths at the JFK House, said the report, were trained in the use of weapons and firebombs and indoctrinated with an anti-white philosophy. Many of these youths were later involved in the riots.

Robinson, charged the jury, has been affiliated with "the Freedom Fighters of Ohio, the Medgar Evers Rifle Club [which he helped to found], the JFK House, of which he is the ultimate head, the Deacons for Defense and the Revolutionary Action Movement."

(The latter group, RAM, is headed by an expatriate American Negro, Robert Williams, who publicly urges Negroes to resort to violence against the United States. Williams, who has been operating from Cuba but right now is in Red China, is an admirer of Fidel Castro and Mao Tse-tung.)

There was "irrefutable evidence," said the jury, that Robinson pledged reciprocal support to the Communist party and attended meetings which featured Communist speakers brought in especially for the occasion. Testimony of some of the 40 witnesses who appeared before the jury also pointed to Robinson as "inciting . . . youths to focus their hatreds and indoctrinating them with his own vigorous philosophy of violence." He exerted a "profound influence over the JFK youths and he still does."

Harllel Jones, says the report, is also "affiliated with JFK House, the Medgar Evers Rifle Club, the Revolutionary Action Movement; he is vice president of the Deacons for Defense in spite of his public disavowals and had frequently either presided over or sponsored meetings for black nationalists and

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

espoused the ultimate revolutionary purpose for adjusting differences or obtaining desired ends."

Special movies shown to the jury revealed Jones as an "outright exponent of violence, a 'Black Power' apostle with a bitter hatred of all whites. . . ."

Albert D. Ware-Bey, who belonged to the same clubs as Jones and Robinson, "expressed no allegiance to this country, professed himself not to be bound by its laws. . . ."

Police and others presented evidence which demonstrated that Negro youths in Hough were trained in using guns and explosives.

The grand jury said evidence showed that "Rifle clubs were formed, that ammunition was purchased and that a range was established and used, that speeches were made at JFK House advocating the need for rifle clubs and that instructions were given in the use of Molotov cocktails and how and when to throw them to obtain maximum effect."

But black nationalists were not the only revolutionaries on the riot scene; so were the Communists. The jury report claimed that members of the W.E.B. DuBois Club and the Communist party youth "with interchangeable officers and virtually identical concepts" arrived in Cleveland only a few days before the Hough outbreaks.

W.E.B. DuBois Club members, who came from Chicago, New York and Brooklyn, "made swift contact with the JFK House leadership and with Phil Bart of Middlehurst Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, and his wife Connie, who, the evidence showed, are the leaders of the Communist party throughout the Ohio Valley."

The DuBois Club members, says the report, "are currently making plans to move their efforts from the Hough area over to the west side: that they are . . . without any visible means of support but nevertheless carry on their advocacy and maintain themselves with clothing, food and shelter from some undetermined source."

Finally, says the report, there is evidence that an organization dedicated to black power, UJAMA, may have had a role in the riots. This organization, which has flourished in New York, believes all moves toward Negro civil rights should be cleared through this group.

The thrust of this report suggests that it is long past time for Congress to thoroughly explore the civil rights groups and let the chips fall where they may.

LBJ's Big City Grab

Readers of *Human Events* who don't wish to see nearly every city and town come under complete federal domination are urged to write their congressmen to kill the Demonstration Cities program (HR 15890) which LBJ is now trying to ram through the Congress. Reported favorably out of the House Banking and Currency Committee and passed by the Senate subcommittee on housing, this program, as noted in these pages before, could eventually cost the taxpayer over $100 billion.

Republicans on the Banking and Currency Committee have charged that HR 15890 will "not only give away much of the national legislative controls which belong to the communities of the nation . . . . The Congress must face up to the fact that HUD [the Department of Housing and Urban Development] officials, from the secretary on down, will have more power over urban and suburban life than any mayor or governor in the country."

How would control over the cities be achieved? The drafters of this revolutionary scheme are using the old weapons of the carrot and the stick.

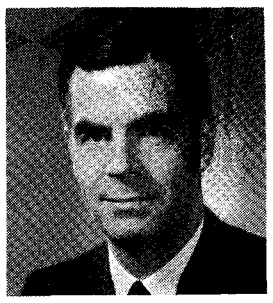
In effect, this bill tells the mayors this: Accept federal aid and you won't have to raise taxes in order to remodel your city; don't accept our offer and the voters will soon demand you do in order to get back some of the federal taxes they are paying to rebuild other cities.

It's a pure case of blackmail. Under such pressures, most mayors are bound to relent, but once they do their city will be under the iron thumb of Uncle Sam.

Here are some other features of the Demonstration Cities program which have not been publicly aired before:

• Tucked away in title VIII is what some critics are calling the "Banker's Bonanza." Financial experts have figured that under this title a construction lender or bank could earn as much as $409,000 on a $1.2-million investment because of government-secured loans. In short, a 33 per cent return on investment.

• The federal government is actually planning to construct "new towns" under this bill by expanding FHA mortgage insurance programs for privately financed land development and by pouring federal projects into these communities to make them self-sufficient. In this way the federal government will have total control over these new areas. Regarding this title of the bill (Title IV), Rep. Burt Talcott (R.-Calif.) says: "It could be the most devastating encroachment by the federal central bureaucracy upon the functions of local government, private enterprise, and individual freedom yet concocted by the federal planners."



TALCOTT

Talcott says these new federally built towns can only "sap the vitality of established towns and communities. The subsidized new towns will be parasitic—sucking revenues from other communities for artificial sustenance and making the preservation and revitalization of our established communities more difficult."

Coming Next Week:

'War on Poverty' Report

Across the nation the "War on Poverty"—along with Viet Nam and inflation—is a central issue of the congressional election campaigns, and every poll shows that opposition to this scandal-ridden program is on the rise. To capitalize on this dissatisfaction and turn it into conservative votes, you will need facts. For this reason we have prepared a complete report on LBJ's "anti-poverty" package which will be coming to you next week. Watch for it. This report will be a valuable campaign document, suitable for wide distribution.

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Civil Rights Filibuster?

Legislative experts say they believe the housing section in the 1966 Civil Rights bill, even though greatly modified by the Mathias amendment, will not survive Senate debate. Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), who has come under great pressures to drop his fight against this section, may, it is said, filibuster it to death in much the same manner he defeated repeal of right-to-work.

DIRKSEN

The Illinois senator says he may even move to strike the housing section and replace it with a plank to permit voluntary prayer in the public schools.

Conservative lawmakers point out that even the modified "open housing" section (Title IV) covers 40 per cent of housing.

"Under this proposed law," say Representatives William Cramer (R.-Fla.) and Richard Poff (R.-Va.) in a joint statement, "a homeowner, realtor or lending institution may be subject to the most overwhelming array of federal proscriptions." They may, for example, be subjected to a lawsuit initiated by the attorney general, an action initiated by the secretary of housing and urban development or criminal prosecution by a U.S. attorney or a private citizen law suit.

"Not only are there an excess of remedies available to one citizen," say these lawmakers, "but the very nature of the proceedings appear to be heavily weighted against another citizen. For example, in a typical civil suit filed in the federal district court, the complainant could be provided an attorney by the court and court costs and security may be waived, while the defendant would have to pay his own expenses to defend himself in the litigation."

In addition, Poff and Cramer said, a temporary restraining order forbidding the sale of a house can be issued without any opportunity to present a defense.

Moreover, say the legislators, the powers given a new Federal Fair Housing Board that will be established and the secretary of housing and urban development (HUD) are in some respects "far broader than any powers granted the National Labor Relations Board."

For instance, the National Labor Relations Board can act only upon the application of a party, while the secretary of housing and urban development under Title IV may act on his own initiative and, unlike the general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, is himself granted the broadest investigatory powers."

It is contrary to our established principles, say these lawmakers, "to vest such regulatory and quasi-judicial powers in a department of the executive branch which is authorized to disburse billions of dollars of federal money to the very people it would be regulating."

'Judge' Bertrand Russell

British philosopher Bertrand Russell, who may hate America because its colleges refused to let him teach his doctrine of "free love," is gathering together a left-wing "lynch mob" to try the United States government for alleged war crimes against the Vietnamese people.

In a letter to National Liberation Front Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho, Lord Russell—without even a modicum of impartiality—writes: " . . . the U.S. government's crimes have gone too far and it is necessary to convene an international organization with the highest discipline to pronounce a correct verdict." "Judge" Russell, in short, is busily setting up a court to call for physical execution of American officials, even before the evidence is in.

Currently, says Russell, he is planning to establish an organization in Paris to prepare for the convening of a "court." Among the "judicious" members of his organization: Jean Paul Sartre, who has said that in any showdown he would side with the East over the West; Sartre's mistress, author Simone de Beauvoir; Jose de Castro, head of the Food and Agricultural Organization at the United Nations; and such Marxists as Lazaro Cardenas, one-time president of Mexico, and Isaac Deutscher.

"Another important fact," writes Russell, "is that Stokely Carmichael has said that he hopes to be able to participate in the trial to reflect the full support of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a struggle organization of the Negroes in the United States."

The court, says Russell, will try to hear people from South Viet Nam and any trial "will exert a profound influence on world public opinion. The organization of this court session is designed to create an excellent opportunity to establish a strong movement against U.S. imperialism right in the United States, in Western Europe and, of course, throughout the world."

Russell says that another Russell—Russell Stetler—is now in the United States, where he will hold a press conference to announce the convening of this court session.

He will, says Russell, "meet with the leaders of the black people's struggle movement and of many other anti-war movements in the United States." After that, says Russell, Stetler will go to Hanoi to discuss the question of launching this movement.

Stetler is another "impartial" observer. A former leader of the pro-Peking May 2nd Movement, now defunct, he later formed at Haverford College in Pennsylvania a committee to provide medical aid for the Viet Cong.

Lord Russell, note observers, is 94 years old.

Demos Bulldoze Voters

Citizens in local communities around the country might like to know that a number of so-called liberals, who pride themselves on believing in majority rule, are blocking the people's right to decide whether they want costly federal urban renewal programs to come into their areas.

Federal urban renewal projects are not only costly for the general taxpayer, but have caused thousands of poor people to have their homes literally bulldozed out of existence and then to be moved into poorer quality housing at higher cost.

For these and a variety of other reasons, Republicans on the Banking and Currency Committee have launched a campaign to permit localities to vote on whether they wish to accept urban renewal projects.

Not all of them enthusiastically favor urban renewal, but as long as it's law, they say, each project should at least receive local support. They insist that urban renewal should not be foisted on the community by federal bureaucrats and the few businessmen who profit from such ventures.

Not too surprisingly, however, liberal Democrats on the Banking and Currency Committee have at every turn rebuffed efforts to let the people have a voice in such affairs.

Rep. Burt Talcott (R.-Calif.), a member of the committee, sponsored a bill permitting community referendums on urban renewal, but Rep. William Barrett (D.-Pa.), chairman of the Housing subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee, led a successful fight against it.

DWYER

Rep. Florence Dwyer (R.-N. J.) tried to get the Democrats to approve her amendment to the Demonstration Cities program which would have allowed communities with 150,000 persons or fewer to vote on urban renewal. But Banking and Currency Chairman Wright Patman (D.-Tex.) inspired his fellow Democrats to vote it down.

But Mrs. Dwyer has not given up the fight. Her office says she plans to bring the issue to the floor for a vote. Says Mrs. Dwyer:

"This is not an anti-urban renewal amendment. . . . All too often, however, the people of a community have been the missing ingredient in urban renewal. The people have a right to know and to participate in making the community's decision about urban renewal, and urban renewal needs the enlightened understanding of the community.

"Urban renewal is a unique program in that it uses public funds and the power of eminent domain with which to force private owners to sell their property for resale to other private owners. This fact, plus the community-wide impact of urban renewal projects, especially in smaller communities, requires the involvement of the people in the process of rebuilding their own cities. . . ."

Many Republicans and conservative Democrats would like to see the people have a decisive say in these matters, but the liberal Democratic majority seems determined to prevent it.

King Labor Dictates

Seasoned political observers are appalled at the way organized labor has continued to dictate the manner in which the President—and now even Congress—have handled the airline strike. LBJ first refused to enter into the airline strike at all—just as the striking International Association of Machinists desired; then, when public pressures finally forced LBJ to take some sort of stand to bring the strike to a halt, the President enthusiastically supported a wage hike for the IAM which crashed through his wage-guideline formula by a cool 34 per cent. When the union members rejected even that munificent offer, LBJ then tried to wash his hands of the matter, telling Congress that he didn't want to be given the responsibility for sending the strikers back to work.

MEANY

(Yet at the same time he was refusing to offer even the slightest suggestion for getting the strikers to return to their jobs, he cleared a blistering condemnation by Gardner Ackley, his chief economic adviser, of the steel industry's price increases, even though those hikes were *well within the wage-price* guidelines.)

But last week it was Congress that appeared to be taking the cue from Big Labor. For the entire week the House was unable to get a bill out of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee dealing with the strike because, some thought, AFL-CIO President George Meany had laid down the law.

Meany, who supports nearly every Socialistic measure offered by the Democrats, warned Congress it shouldn't send the strikers back to work, for this was "Socialistic" and would jeopardize the rights of "free Americans." Furthermore, Meany claimed that LBJ shouldn't offer any suggestion to Congress on how to settle the strike. (Meany said nothing about "socialism" when LBJ tried to roll back the steel price increases.)

The IAM, of course, thinks it can win a bigger increase in wages from the airlines by prolonging the strike. Hence, it is felt, Meany set out to prevent, or at least delay, Congress from ordering the men back to work. For most of the past week, Meany's strategy succeeded—once again demonstrating the awesome powers of Big Labor.

There Is No Answer, Mr. President

President Johnson had this interesting exchange with a reporter at his August 9 press conference:

"**Q:** Mr. President, getting back to this question of inflation, out on the Midwest trip you were talking about the rise in personal income with 11 extra paychecks a year for families even after allowing for price increases. How do you reconcile that with the figure from the Commerce Department showing that because of inflation, per capita buying power in 1958 prices is actually down from $2,287 to $2,277?

"**A:** I would let you reconcile that. . . . I don't have an answer to your question."

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Education—or Propaganda?

Ford Foundation's TV Plan Poses Some Serious Problems

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

The Ford Foundation has come up with an appealing but dangerous plan for subsidizing a nationwide educational TV network. It is appealing because everybody is as much for education as he is against sin. It is dangerous because it will turn over to the Liberal Establishment one more weapon for its war against any kind of conservative dissent.

The Ford Foundation, much of whose multi-billion-dollar income is already being poured into liberal causes, proposes to place a communications satellite in space for the transmission of all television signals at a cost that private industry cannot match without going bankrupt. The funds taken in will be spent on creating a nationwide educational TV network which will then be free to bring knowledge and culture to the American people—higgledy-piggledy and without thought of public acceptance or public outrage.

We have seen already what the Liberal Establishment's dominion over commercial television has brought us. CBS, for example, has been bold enough to bar from its stations a program like "Up the People" because its nonpartisan and non-ideological message of patriotism and faith in America does not conform with the precepts of the network's bosses.

The program, produced by Moral Re-Armament, had a sponsor ready to buy the time—and CBS must think in terms of its profit balance and its viewer acceptance, yet it felt no qualms about imposing censorship on what it did not like.

How, then, would a network act that had adequate funds and no need to give an accounting of itself to public or sponsor? Several educational TV stations, as this column has previously noted, are already so contemptuous of the public they presumably serve that they have been showing films frankly propagandizing for Red China. What restraints will there be on a liberal-left monopoly of the educational network proposed by the Ford Foundation?

The problem, however, goes much deeper than any liberal-conservative confrontation. Education is a deceptive word that seems to be easily definable. But education for what? Education about what? If the masters of the proposed educational network decide that the United States must be "educated" to accept Esperanto as a universal language—or simplified spelling—there will be the means and the wherewithal to achieve this end.

Once upon a time it was relatively easy to challenge control of the mass media by one group or viewpoint. But every avenue of communication has now become vastly expensive and complex. The dissenter can no longer start his little paper in the hope of finding readers who can be influenced by his arguments. Even the financial titans draw back at the cost of starting a daily newspaper. Television is even more costly, and its best channels are already pre-empted.

The Ford Foundation has the bank account, of course. It can afford to do almost anything, buy almost anything—and thereby has at its disposal the kind of power that few, if any, private fortunes have been able to rival. And its record, where ideas and political posture are concerned, has always shown a liberal bent.

Former White House aide McGeorge Bundy is now heading up the Ford Foundation.

This is why the Ford Foundation's proposal that it be allowed to throw its tax-free billions into competition with private enterprise—in the interest of an educational "holding company"—is dangerous. This is why it can only set in concrete practices and attitudes which exclude everything but the most slavish adherence to an outdated liberalism tenaciously embracing its privileges of money and power.

There can be no adequate policing of any subsidized educational TV network because by the nature of things in such a case, the cops must be in league with the robbers—whether they be liberal or conservative. The Liberal Establishment reigns today. A Conservative Establishment may return tomorrow or the day after. Neither one should have at its disposal so potent a weapon of indoctrination.

Congress will have to approve the Ford Foundation proposal. And Congress will be tempted to go along so it cannot be accused of standing "agin" education. The opposition must therefore come from the grassroots where there are still people who know that however much the plan may seem to be giving the public something for nothing, it ain't necessarily so.

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BAD TIMING—Secretary McNamara's plan to time defense purchases to coincide with the end of the war is not without precedent; Napoleon tried the same thing before Waterloo.

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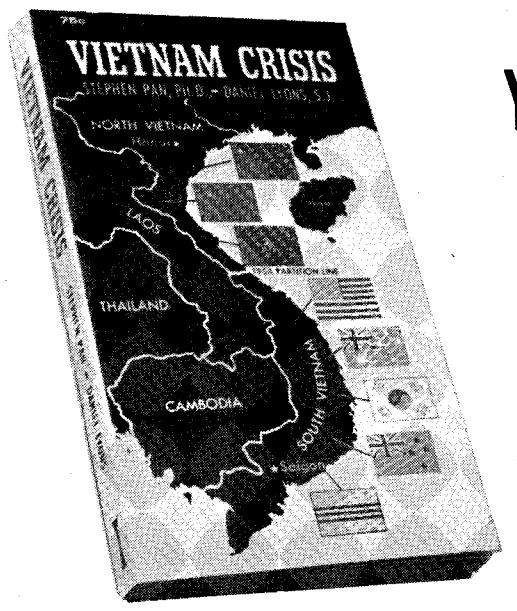

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RACES of the WEEK

This is the eighth installment of our regular pre-election feature, Races of the Week. Each week until Election Day, November 8, *Human Events* will offer as many analyses of key election contests from coast to coast as space permits.

Virginia's 8th District

Scott vs. Rawlings

An aggressive campaign, coupled with an 11th-hour hatchet job by columnist Drew Pearson, were the key ingredients in liberal George Rawlings' surprising defeat of veteran Rep. Howard Smith (D.-Va.) in the 8th District Democratic primary last month.

Newspapers throughout the country pictured the 44-year-old Rawlings as a political giant killer who had knocked off one of the most powerful figures in the entire Congress. But an even greater upset may be in the making as Republican William Scott has launched an all-out campaign for the 8th District seat.

The GOP nominee is bidding frankly for the 26,521 votes amassed by Smith in the Democratic primary. "These are conservative Democrats who cannot support the far-out policies of Mr. Rawlings," he says.

Rawlings, who received heavy labor support in his July victory, is now trying to fudge his position on a number of issues. Because Virginia voters have demonstrated overwhelming support for right-to-work and because he cannot afford to alienate Big Labor, Rawlings has adopted a "neutral" stance on repeal of 14b.

Republican Scott has denounced Rawlings as evasive "on a central issue of our times."

"In all candor," he adds, "we can't be neutral on this subject. I support completely Virginia's right-to-work law and I oppose wholeheartedly any attempt to repeal 14 b."

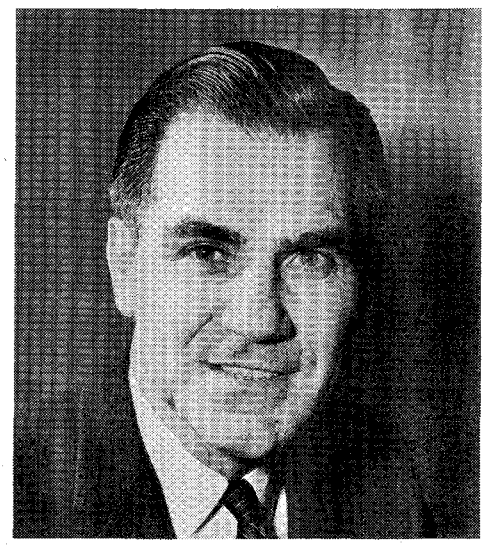
In an effort to weaken Republican Joel Broyhill's grip on the 10th District, the Democratic-controlled Virginia Legislature last year removed several GOP strongholds from his territory. Broyhill's loss was Scott's gain. An area of Fairfax County that went heavily for Broyhill was added to the 8th District and should account for one-third of the vote in the November elections.

Scott, an articulate, 51-year-old lawyer, is well known to Fairfax County voters. He ran last fall for the Virginia State Senate and apparently triumphed by 35 votes. Six weeks after the election, a recount disclosed he had lost by 21, out of 41,000 ballots cast.

Others might have despaired. But not Scott. He began immediately preparing for the 1966 race. The GOP nominee has triumphed over considerable obstacles throughout his life. At 8 he lost his father, a railway engineer, in a rail disaster. He put himself through college and law school by working as a pressman at the Government Printing Office.

Scott sees as a central issue in his campaign the growing governmental assault on the traditional values of self-reliance and hard work.

"Will government regulation enforce a social and economic pattern superior to that developed by our forefathers under the American free enterprise system?"



SCOTT

The GOP nominee thinks not and is certain that the vast majority of Virginians share his view. And if they do, Bill Scott, not George Rawlings, will succeed "judge" Smith in the House of Representatives. (Scott for Congress Committee, 10260 Main Street, Fairfax, Va.)

Alabama Senate Contest

Grenier vs. Sparkman

At 35, John Grenier is a political veteran, although he didn't enter politics until 1960, when he supported Richard Nixon for President. Two years later he took control of Alabama's long-dormant Republican party and came within 6,000 votes of electing a then obscure businessman, Jim Martin, to the Senate.

In 1964, he directed Barry Goldwater's pre-convention delegate hunt below the Mason-Dixon line and delivered 271 out of a possible 279 Southern delegates to the Arizonan. In the November election he helped put Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana into the GOP column. Alabama's Grenier-shaped GOP sent five congressmen to Washington.

Now Grenier is making his first try for elective office and is given an excellent chance to become the first Republican since Reconstruction to represent Alabama in the U.S. Senate. Grenier has launched an energetic campaign to retire Democratic Sen. John Sparkman, a veteran of three decades in the Nation's Capital.

Not once in that period has Sparkman faced a challenge of the Grenier magnitude. A tireless campaigner, Grenier visited all of Alabama's 67 counties in June and July. He received the GOP nomination July 30 and has since launched a second statewide swing. (Grenier for Senate headquarters: P. O. Box 7513A, Birmingham, Ala.)

In a typical week the red-and-gold Grenier bus logs several thousand miles. At every stop the Republican nominee hits Sparkman's ultra-liberal voting record. For example, the veteran solon cast the deciding vote that passed the Administration's rent subsidy program (he was the only member of the state's congressional delegation to so vote).

As second-ranking Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sparkman has repeatedly served as an Administration water boy. He has backed foreign aid to Communist nations and "neutrals" who trade with North Viet Nam. Earlier this year he battled, unsuccessfully, to give the Administration a five-year foreign aid authorization. This scheme, if enacted, would have denied Congress year-by-year review of the aid program.

Sparkman is relying more and more on the tired claim that he can "do more" for Alabama. Grenier has met the claim head on, asserting:

"Alabamians grow tired and weary that we hear the so-called 'loud, clear voice' of Sparkman only in announcing the return to Alabama from Washington of a small portion of hard-earned tax

GRENIER

dollars. We now know through tragic experience that those federal dollars inevitably must be followed by oppressive federal control. We charge that Sparkman misled Alabamians that we would receive the money without the controls. We know now that the velvet glove offered by Sparkman concealed the iron fist of federal dictation."

Georgia's 6th District

Jones vs. Flynt

For the first time in history, a Republican has announced for the House of Representatives from Georgia's 6th Congressional District. And incumbent Democrat John Flynt, who won 69,712 to 0 two years ago, is running scared.

The challenge of G. Paul Jones Jr. has prompted Flynt to mail constituents his first newsletter in six terms and to return home for extensive campaigning. For two months, beginning in late May, Flynt missed every rollcall in Washington as he sought deperately to meet voters and plead for votes.

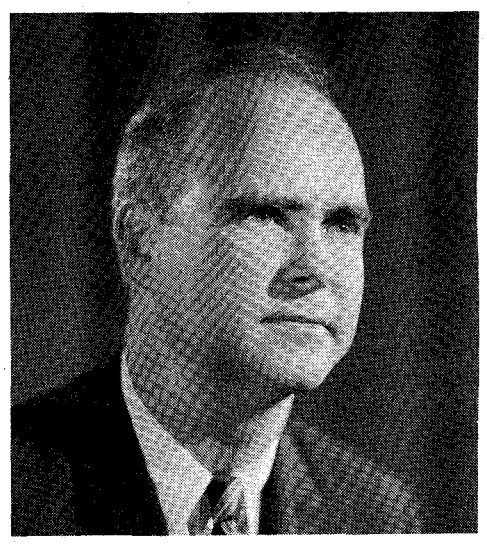
Flynt has reason to fear the 36-year-old Jones. Two years ago, Jones directed the statewide Goldwater campaign that put Georgia in the Republican column for the first time in history. In the same election he was elected to the Georgia Legislature from Bibb County (Macon). A year later he was named GOP state chairman and he directed a highly successful campaign that has resulted in major gains throughout the state. (Earlier this month, a Republican was elected mayor of Savannah and GOP candidates captured every seat on the city's board of aldermen.)

Jones, a graduate of Georgia Tech, has promised 6th District voters he will represent their views in Washington. This Flynt has not done. Although the district went for Goldwater in 1964, Flynt has frequently lined up with the liberal wing of the Democratic party. The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education reports that he cast "pro-labor" votes on public works, mass transit, the food stamp program, aid to vocational and medical education and foreign aid, among other issues.

With Jones mounting a serious challenge, Flynt has sought in recent months to picture himself as a conservative. In talks before medical groups he has stressed the fact he voted against Medicare.

Jones replies that if Flynt and a handful of other "conservatives" had not voted to pack the House Rules Committee, the Medicare bill would never have reached the House floor. The GOP nominee terms Flynt's vote to stack the Rules Committee "the most significant one he has cast in 12 undistinguished years in Washington." The Rules Committee packing guaranteed the passage of every "big-spend, welfare state program of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration," Jones maintains.

Jones will be aided immeasurably by a statewide ticket headed by Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway, the GOP nominee for governor. Callaway, first Republican congressman in the state's history, rates a strong favorite in the November elections. His probable opponent, former Gov. Ellis Arnall, is a political warhorse who last won elective



JONES

office more than two decades ago.

Callaway has the support of a number of prominent Democrats, including former Gov. Merv Griffin and Harry Jackson, president pro tem of the Georgia Senate. In fact, in recent months there has been a veritable exodus of conservative Democrats into the Republican camp. (Jones for Congress Headquarters: Box 317, Macon, Ga.)

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Where Are the Advocates of 'Presidential Power'?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

It was only two short years ago that the liberal intellectuals, led by John F. Kennedy's friend and biographer James MacGregor Burns, were complaining that the Goldwater Republicans constituted a "Congressional Party" that was anachronistic in the modern age. The need, so the liberal intellectuals insisted, was for a strong presidential power to lead and compel Congress to do what it takes to meet complicated problems, both internal and external.

Pundit Walter Lippmann, who opposes the war in Viet Nam, has switched his tune on congressional power.

We haven't been hearing so much along these lines recently; indeed, Mr. Walter Lippmann, who has tended to support a strong presidential system ever since the days of Woodrow Wilson, has just taken off on a long vacation with a warning that something should be done to restrain the power of Lyndon Johnson. *Liberals of all* types and varieties are speaking in the new Lippmann manner.

For example, the famous Mario Savio, generalissimo of the campus "revolution" at Berkeley, California, who once welcomed presidential power when it was used to curb the States Righters of Alabama and Mississippi, has been describing himself of late as a "philosophical anarchist" and professing sympathy for libertarian conservatives who voted unsuccessfully for Goldwater. Savio speaks of our "traditional liberties" being "eroded by the unwarranted growth of the federal government."

In between Lippmann and Savio there are scores of ADAers and what not who liked Lyndon Johnson when he was twisting congressional arms to force through domestic legislation, but who hate him now that he insists on supporting friends of freedom in distant parts of the "one world" that liberals used to be for.

If today's issues weren't so serious, the philosophical somersaults of our liberal intellectuals would make good musical comedy fodder for the Morrie Ryskind who wrote "Of Thee I Sing." When the "Congressional Party" was dominated by the likes of Bob Taft all we heard from the liberals were complaints about senatorial do-nothingism and "obstruction." But now that the "Congressional Party" is headed by Sen. Fulbright, with Wayne Morse acting as his able lieutenant, we only hear about the terrible way in which the White House is "escalating" the war in Viet Nam without asking the "advice and consent" of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

The National Conference for New Politics, which was recently set up by a group ranging from Greenville Clark of the World Federalists and Mark De Wolfe Howe of the Harvard Law School to Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Dick Gregory, the Negro entertainer who wants to be mayor of Chicago, is going into action this autumn with one objective: to break the presidential power of LBJ. What we need, say the NCNP organizers, is a "new politics" designed "to reverse the tendency of our politics toward the monolithic conformism of 'the great consensus,' and to revive the free-swinging politics of traditional American democracy."

These are wonderful words, but they come from people who have never in the past been particulary concerned about supporting the traditional Madisonian system of checks and balances that maintained free-swinging individualists in Congress.

No doubt the words are sincerely meant at the moment. But conservatives and true libertarians who have all along supported the "Congressional system" as against James MacGregor Burns' "presidential system" had better not count on any permanent new allies on the liberal left. The "New Leftists" will be for "free-swinging politics" until they get their own man in the White House. If and when that day comes, we shall hear no more from them about "administrative usurpation." Instead, we shall be hearing much about a "consensus" for an accommodation with the likes of Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh and a "convergence" with the Communists everywhere.

We have political science departments in virtually every American college. But judging by the behavior of their liberal graduates, all they seem to teach is that principles depend on whose ox is gored.

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HOT LINE—CBS Television News said Ho Chi Minh, replying to a CBS telegram, said no trials for American pilots have been set. The following day, White House aide Bill Moyers said the White House had learned this several days before, through diplomatic channels. But the White House didn't pass the word along to the American public. Which may prove what I've long suspected: That Washington newsmen can get an answer to a vital question faster out of Hanoi than they can the White House.—By Don Maclean, United Feature Syndicate.

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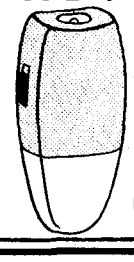

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What's So Funny About FUNY?

The 'Free University of New York' is typical of the revolutionary left-wing institutions that have sprung up around the country.

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

One of the funnier aspects of the Free University of New York (FUNY) is the fact that it is neither free nor a university. The "university" part of the title was dropped this early summer when the authorities in New York state ruled that it did not qualify as a "university" either financially or intellectually. It has therefore now changed its name to the Free School of New York. But the Free School is not free, either financially or ideologically.

The New York Free University was originally founded in the fall of 1965, making it the oldest and largest of the free universities that have recently been set up throughout the country. It was an outgrowth of the Berkeley riots and Vietnik demonstrations.

Top U. S. Communist Herbert Aptheker is listed as a "teacher" at FUNY.

The original prospective for FUNY states: "The Free University of New York is necessary because, in our conception, American universities have been reduced to institutions of intellectual servitude. Students have been systematically dehumanized, deemed incompetent to regulate their own lives sexually, politically and academically. They are treated like raw material to be processed for the universities' clients, business, government and military bureaucracies."

Not So Free

At present there are Free Universities functioning in New York; San Francisco; Los Angeles; Austin, Tex.; Chicago; Gainesville, Fla.; Madison, Wis.; and, according to the June 17, 1966, issue of *New Left Notes*, the newspaper of Students for a Democratic Society, one is being set up in Boston.

The founders of the Boston school state that their "'Free University' is an inadequate label for the kind of experiment which is called for." They are right; a better title might be a "School for Revolutionaries."

The spring catalogue of the Free University of New York, to use its original name, tells the reader that "The first nine-week course in which a student enrolls in a single quarter will cost $24. Each additional course will cost $8. Hence, two courses will cost $32, three $40, etc. Four and five-week courses are half-price. Transfers will be by permission of the instructor. Refunds will not normally be available." Some state universities are "freer" than this.

Ideologically, the Free School is in worse shape. The board of directors of FUNY has refused to allow Herman Kahn, the nuclear physicist, who is a friend of Pentagon generals and advisor to Presidents, to teach there. The *Village Voice* relates that at a meeting of FUNY, when a young man was refused admission because he wore a "Bomb Hanoi" button, James Mellen, one of the top dogs at FUNY, said, "Well, I don't give a damn about civil liberties." Mellen was a former professor at Drew University before he was fired because of his overt support for the Viet Cong.

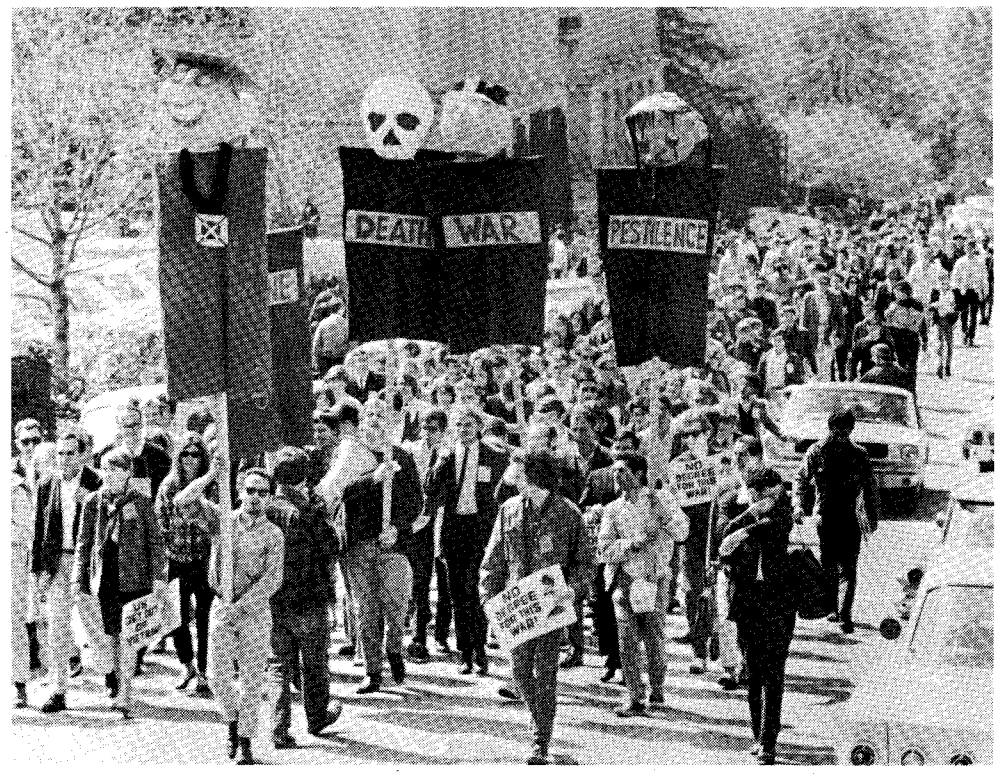
Leftist Subjects Taught

The nominal head of FUNY is Dr. Allen Krebs, who was ousted from Adelphi College following a trip to Cuba in the summer of 1964 and his continued use of his sociology classes as forums for Marxism. Krebs has been quoted when asked about the right of Herman Kahn to teach there: "I don't think we would want anyone to teach here who would not have anything to contribute to the Free University. We only have five classrooms here, and if Mr. Kahn taught one class that would mean that for those two hours he would be taking up 20 per cent of the Free University. I think that is too much to give Mr. Kahn."

Someone asked Jim Mellen about William Buckley teaching there. He replied, "Buckley in the bush is a hostile man. He would have to convince us of his good intentions if he wanted to teach here."

One of the instructors at FUNY is Paul Krassner, who publishes a far-out magazine called *The Realist*. At one point he threatened to quit over the lack of intellectual freedom at the Free School. Discussing the refusal to allow Herman Kahn to teach, Krassner said, "It is just as easy to hide behind a radical mask. If you invite LeRoi Jones to teach here and not Herman Kahn, then you are setting up equally bad double standards."

Yale Prof. Staughton Lynd gave a four-week course on W.E.B. DuBois.



The demonstrations at the Berkeley campus of the University of California provided the impetus for the formation of many of the "Free Universities."

Dr. Krebs has said that "This place is whatever the students and faculty want it to be. . . . The only thing we have in common is that we all want to see change. A lot of leftist subjects are forbidden in American universities, so they are taught here. The only way you can really learn about Viet Nam in an American university is through a teach-in. . . . If you can't teach material relevant to modern American life in the established universities, then you have to find a place to do it—even if the place is grubby and unheated and you don't get paid for doing it."

Liberals Think It 'Hip'

But while FUNY is "grubby" in its location and content, it has apparently captured the liberal mind and *Life* magazine called it "a groovy thing to do." *Harper's* magazine did an article on it and *Newsweek* has spotlighted its activities. To the liberal mind FUNY is just a quaint and "hip" little place where all the rebels hang out.

The Free University of New York was originally the idea of Marc Schleifer (who is presently in Africa writing for the *National Guardian* under the name of Sulyaman Abdullah), a poet and white Muslim. Schleifer was a member of the Maoist Progressive Labor group at the time that he conceived of the Free University.

Plans for setting up such a school were openly discussed at executive meetings of the May 2nd Movement (M-2-M), Progressive Labor's youth organization, and the original impetus came from these meetings. Allen Krebs attended a number of May 2nd meetings and out of these the Free University was formed.

At the time Progressive Labor was conceiving its own university to be called the John Brown School and plans were begun to lease a building on the upper west side of New York City. Later, it was decided to drop the plan for a separate school and the Progressive Labor people turned to FUNY to provide the classrooms for their own classes.

The money for the original rental of space for FUNY came from John Maher, the radical son of a self-made Texas millionaire. John, who has acted as a courier for communications between Progressive Labor and the Chinese publication *Revolution* in France, is presently at Harvard working for SDS.

His brother, Albert, traveled to Cuba in 1963 and put up the bail money for Bill Epton who was convicted of "criminal anarchy" as a result of the role of Progressive Labor in the Harlem riots. John's sister, Mary Maher, traveled to Cuba in 1964 and is presently married to Levi Laub, one of the leaders of the Progressive Labor party.

FUNY was able to draw in a broad united-front faculty when it began its operations. The "Fall Catalogue" for 1965 listed the following teachers:

Herbert Aptheker (CPUSA), Lee Baxandall (*Studies on the Left*), Allen Ginsberg (poet), Calvin Hicks (CPUSA and Black Nationalist), Charles "Mao" Johnson (RAM), Levi Laub (PLP), Bradford Lyttle (pacifist), Victor Perlo (CPUSA), Milt Rosen (PLP), James Robertson (Spartacist—a Trotskyist splinter), Dick Roberts (American Committee for a 4th International—another Trotskyist splinter), Roger Taus and Russell Stetler (May 2nd Movement and PLP), and Sue Warren (who writes for the PLP newspaper *Challenge* under the name of "Lisa Armand").

Strange Faculty

The "Spring Catalogue" of FUNY included some other interesting persons:

M. S. Arnoni, the irresponsible editor of *The Minority of One*, was added to the faculty. Arnoni, speaking in Berkeley in 1965, told his audience that America was an "aboriginal combination of sin and myth. . . . This here did not begin as the land of freedom, but the site of wanton massacres; not as a society of promise, but a per-

(Continued on next page)

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petrator of genocide." Arnoni has since decided to file papers in an attempt to become an American citizen.

Karen Sacks, who went to Cuba in 1964, joined the faculty, as did Bob Machover, who was on the same trip. Truman Nelson, who poses as the "new" William Lloyd Garrison and is the author of the book *The Torture of Mothers*, was scheduled to teach a class on the abolitionists. Staughton Lynd also taught a course in the spring on W.E.B. DuBois, described as follows: "The course will consider DuBois as a historian of Reconstruction, as a strategist for the American civil rights movement, as a prophet of 20th Century anti-imperialist internationalism, and as a Communist." It was a four-week course.

'Poetry and Revolution'

A study of the courses taught at FUNY, or any of the other "free universities," finds a strange amalgam of left-wing and decidedly "offbeat" concepts. Levi Laub teaches a course on "Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism: the Ideological Question in Viet Nam"; Bradford Lyttle taught "Strategy for Non-Violent Revolution in the 1960s"; Sue Warren told her students about "China Today."

In the spring of 1966, Charlie "Mao" Johnson, who went to Cuba in 1964, taught a course on "The Chinese People's Communes" which gave the "historical background of the communes and their place as the basic unit in constructing the Communist society of the future in China."

This summer Sharon Krebs, the wife of Allen and a 1964 traveler to Cuba, taught a course entitled "History of the Left in the United States." Charlie Johnson was back with a course called "Mao for Beginners" and Calvin Hicks taught a course which included time to be "spent actually working in the Negro and Puerto Rican ghettos."

Another teacher at FUNY, beatnik poet Allen Ginsberg, is shown here in striped hat participating in anti-Viet Nam demonstration.

The "offbeat" nature of FUNY is best typified by looking at a few of the courses taught there. One, entitled "The Search for Authentic Sexual Experience—Part II," was a seminar limited to seven (the lecturer made it eight) and was a "depth study in the nature of the sexual role of male and female, with an attempt at understanding the natural in contrast to the 'normal.'"

There have also been courses in "The Sexual Revolution," "Hallucinogenic Drugs: Their Uses and Social Implications," "Poetry and Revolution," "Word Fallout," "Film Making" and "Modern Dance."

FUNY has also offered a course in "Collage" and one in "Anarchistic and Synergetic Politics," the latter described as "The synergetic vectors of modern science; e.g., cybernetics, semantics, game theory, Gestalt psychology, multi-valued logics, will be related to anarchist theory. Also discussed will be: money as information, communication in capitalist and Socialist games, self-correcting systems and self-aggravating systems."

Perhaps the strangest "thing" to come out of FUNY to date is a portion of the Free University of New York *Newsletter* of March 28, 1966. Attached to this *Newsletter* is a "Mag.-Book, Volume 1, Issue 2." This Mag.-Book is "edited by a NOVA" and is "considered to be 50 per cent correct and 50 per cent wrong."

One article in the Mag.-Book is a "Nova's Commentary," which tells the reader that "I turned rebel between April 13 and 16, 1966." The reasons for the move are then given: "Because I'm forced to do things in ways which I have been trying to avoid. Because I have been trying for months to get some kind of commune started but have failed completely, since the imperialistic aspects of this culture have also infiltrated the Lower East Side. Because so-called women apparently do not exist today. In other words, I'm fed up with having so-called women taking advantage of me, drawing pre-conclusions against what I say or putting me down. . . . Because I'm tired of women making commitments (sub-consciously) and not following them through or leading me on so as to satisfy their imperialistic tendencies."

If these bizarre writings were the only activity of FUNY, there would not be much to fear. Unfortunately, however, the "offbeat" aspects of FUNY are over-compensated by its revolutionary aspects.

FUNY has held a number of meetings open to the public, many of which have featured films from Cuba and from the National Liberation Front of Viet Nam (Viet Cong). These movies are smuggled into the United States through the Cuban Mission to the United Nations, escaping detection because they are delivered in diplomatic pouches which are immune from official inspection.

At one of these film showings held on Aug. 28, 1965, Levi Laub told the audience that "In the film Liu Shao-Chi made the statement that 'the international situation is excellent.'" Laub then went on to add that "this is the era of revolutions. . . . This is the era for our side to carry on."

Then on Sept. 18, 1965, FUNY held a meeting on "How to Beat the Draft." At this meeting Steve Newman, representing May 2nd Movement (and covertly PLP), laid it on the line concerning the war in Viet Nam.

"The position I represent is not that all wars are bad per se. . . . The North Vietnamese have a right to do a lot more than they are doing. . . . Anyone running to beat the Army, to get away from murdering in the Dominican Republic or Viet Nam has my respect. . . . The best dodge is to write a letter to the draft board or to military intelligence and say, '- - - you, I'm not going to go; I'm not going to fight in any imperialist war. I'm dead set against it.'"

Pro-Mao Propaganda

The *National Guardian* of April 23, 1966, announced a meeting to be held that night at FUNY which featured a "report on China" to be given by one of the Korean War turncoats, William C. White. In order to capture the essence of his speech it is necessary to quote extensively from his remarks.

White, who is a Negro, said in part: "I am one of those who refused repatriation at the end of the Korean War and went to China. I stayed 11½ years. For four and a half years I worked as a translator at the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Peking. I studied international law at the University of Peking and I have a B.A. from Peking University. . . . I'd like to tell you why I made the decision to go to China and not go back to my own country after the end of the war. . . . I was told that the Chinese were bad people, that they were Communists and Fascists, that if I was captured I would be killed. I was captured, but instead of killing me they treated me as a man. It was the first time that I really got the feeling that there are people in the world who really understand and look upon me as a man. . . .

"Before being captured I was fed up with the atrocities. I thought, 'What if this was happening to my own people?' After I was captured by the Chinese they started to unravel to me some of the puzzles in my mind. They told me I was cannon fodder and was being used by the big monopolies in our country. I myself wanted to believe it because I had no answers. We were given Communist reading materials and lectures and they told us the war in Korea was an unjust war. . . . I decided I wanted to utilize this [non-repatriation] to go to China to study what communism is and to learn how to bring about peace. . . .

"The relationships among the Chinese people is really a free atmosphere; comradely, mutual understanding. Not like in our own society of dog eat dog. In China there isn't this."

Obviously the Chinese Communists had little to fear from allowing White to return to the United States and spout this pro-Communist propaganda. The fact that FUNY not only provides him with a platform but from its internal makeup supports his "line" makes it something more than a "groovy" thing to do.

The latest fracas at FUNY took place when May 2nd Movement decided to fold. May 2nd was killed earlier this year when the Progressive Labor party decided that it was not growing fast enough and was not in the position to become a "mass organization."

Delegates from throughout the country were invited to New York where they were suddenly told that the organization had just been abolished. The PLP then told the M-2-M members to infiltrate SDS and SNCC in an attempt to make both organizations even more radical.

Liberation League

Members of the M-2-M Chapter which functioned out of FUNY refused to sit back and allow this "radical student organization" to be dissolved, so they decided to form their own organization on Feb. 12, 1966. Called the American Liberation League, its leaders include Allen and Sharon Krebs, James Mellen, Russell Stetler, Leonard Liggio, Gerald Long and Larry Meyers.

The "Manifesto of the American Liberation League" sets out a most revolutionary philosophy:

"The American Liberation League has been forged by some who would assert as their vocation the task of building an anti-imperialist consciousness in America. . . . We set ourselves to the task of mobilizing our generation. We will work alongside those persons already organized toward lucid revolutionary change. We will unite the dispersed and disaffiliated individuals of our era in the meaningful analysis and protest which alone, in bringing together the oppressed of all strata, can create the ideology with which to build a new American society."

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation immediately sent a congratulatory note which said in part: "We are at one with the efforts and perspectives of the American Liberation League. We hail its formation and look forward to the closest association."

The other "free universities" all operate on a similar program. All of them feature revolutionary courses and left-wing instructors and have become focal points for united-front activities and dispensaries for Communist and revolutionary philosophies.

Apparently none of these "schools" has yet received any taxpayer money under the federal aid to education bill. But stranger things have happened in these days of the "Great Society."

A Question for Mr. Freeman

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Appearing before a meeting of the New York City Council, Secretary of Agriculture Freeman said rises in farm prices have caused only a small part of recent increases in retail food prices.

He was invited to the meeting by City Council President Frank D. O'Connor, a Democrat, seeking nomination for governor, who has asked for a "full investigation" of price rises in bread, milk and certain other staples.

In the House, Rep. Graham Purcell, a Texas Democrat who is chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee on Wheat, said he will begin hearings on recent increases in bread prices across the country.

There is one question the investigators might ask Mr. Freeman. That is: Why do American flour millers have to pay a guaranteed price of $2 a bushel for wheat used for domestic food when foreign buyers who pay dollars, including Russian Communists, can get it for as low as $1.25 a bushel?

(Foreign indigents, who can't pay dollars, can get our wheat for their own soft currencies, which is practically receiving it as a gift.)

The answer is that this is the law,

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman.

and it was sponsored by the Johnson Administration. Mr. O'Connor, who said it might take several months to determine who is responsible for high food prices, added that he "will not hesitate to name names." By that time, of course, it will be well beyond the November elections. We'll wager that if he ever gets around to naming names, there won't be any Democrats on the list.

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Cites Lack of Supervision

VISTA Work Bitter Experience for Ohio Girl

By JAMES HORNER in the Cincinnati *Post & Times-Star*

A 19-year-old Springdale, Ohio, girl says, after four bitter weeks in eastern Kentucky, that VISTA, the nation's domestic Peace Corps, is not all that it's cracked up to be.

Miss Gretchen Brandenburg, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. David Brandenburg of 11982 Marwood Lane, Springdale, joined VISTA's summer program at the urging of her father. Now both she and her parents regret the experience.

It wasn't so much the lack of civilized conveniences like plumbing, toilets and decent housing that they minded. They expected that.

What bothered both Miss Brandenburg and her parents the most was the complete lack of planning and guidance by VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America).

VISTA workers, according to the federal anti-poverty headquarters in Washington, are to help residents of Breathitt County, Ky. (where Miss Brandenburg went) "to aid individuals and community development through school-home visits, the interpretation of service agency functions to parents and parents' needs to the agencies, vocational training for youth and small industries development."

The volunteers were also "to provide new hope, dignity and skills that can help lift people out of poverty."

But what VISTA did was put five college youths, including Miss Brandenburg, in Barwick, Ky., (home of 40 families) and leave them there.

Miss Brandenburg recalls, "I got to know a lot of people and that's about all. We set up a Headstart program but I couldn't reach even one child."

For "training" the Elon College sophomore went to East Tennessee State University at Johnson City, Tenn., on June 14 for one week. She and the other 120 trainees had to pay $20 for the "training" which consisted of discussion groups and studying some case histories.

Then after a week at East Tennessee State she and her group went to Evanston, Ky., in Breathitt County, for more "training" which cost an additional $14.50 apiece.

The volunteers lived in abandoned coal miners' homes, with no running water or bathing facilities. "It got cold there and they were low on blankets," she said. Yet she and her parents expected there would be hardships in this pocket of extreme poverty.

The training at Evanston consisted of more discussion groups. "They just let us talk the whole time. We didn't know the situation we were going into."

Miss Brandenburg didn't know she was going to Barwick until the day before she left, and she didn't know who was going with her. "One of our problems when we got there [Barwick] was that we had to make many personal adjustments among ourselves [the VISTA summer volunteers]." One of the volunteers was from Venezuela and could barely speak English.

The volunteers were sent to live with the residents of Barwick. Miss Brandenburg lived with a woman, her two small children and a 23-year-old daughter.

When Miss Brandenburg left last weekend, 14 persons, including a son and his family and a son-in-law and his family, were living in the house.

There were no doors on the bedrooms in the house and this bothered her as well as the lack of a door on the outhouse.

Another VISTA summer volunteer was sent to live with a retired serviceman who had been drunk frequently during the past six weeks, she said. Another girl went to a home where everybody slept in one room.

The problem of the lack of supervision of the five summer volunteers was due in great part to an automobile accident which took the life of an assistant supervisor and seriously injured the supervisor for the VISTA program in five counties.

No one was sent to replace the two men.

In trying to set up the Headstart program for the preschool youngsters, the five summer volunteers found that traveling in the community was going to be difficult.

When they urged parents to bring their children to the near-by one-room school, no one showed up. "When we went to their homes, they were just sitting on the porch, doing nothing."

The five then pooled their resources and by chipping in $65 each they bought a jeep to transport their children and to go to the nearest store, four miles away, to get food for themselves. But one of the local boys driving a car smashed into the jeep and the last offer was $60 for parts.

The volunteers received $32.50 a week for their efforts and out of that they were to pay $12.50 a week to the family they were staying with for room and board.

But when the family's Social Security check ran out and the family needed money, Miss Brandenburg paid for the food out of her allowance.

The problems were also among the VISTA workers. One college boy badly beat a VISTA girl from Smith College. She would not prosecute, so the boy was transferred to another VISTA area.

What Miss Brandenburg regrets the most is not being able to reach the children. "They couldn't even think of an expression to put on puppets."

When her parents went down last weekend for a visit they were horrified. Miss Brandenburg saw the hopelessness of her situation and agreed to return home with her parents.

Her father, a former resident of Danville, Ky., a member of the Council of Southern Mountains, and who first suggested the VISTA program to his daughter, now has no more suggestions.

Dean Acheson and the Law

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Dean Acheson continues to baffle the normal expectations of mankind; he speaks more and more in the accents of Barry Goldwater, not at all reminiscent of the days when he was the particularly cunning arch-villain who excited the juices of the critics of the Truman regime. Normally, one would expect a young man, with his whole life ahead of him, to be more conservative whereas it is the elder statesman, whom time will soon remove from this planet, who can afford to be more reckless without regard for the consequences. Mr. Acheson's history reverses the roles.

We have before us his speech delivered at the University of Virginia Law Alumni Day last May, and now printed in the Virginia *Quarterly Review*. His text for that day was "World Peace Through World Law," but he preached as a non-believer.

"No shoemaker has yet proclaimed a crusade for World Peace Through Shoes, or advocated the Rule of Leather," said the acid Mr. Acheson, but he indicated that many lawyers were guilty of the same error.

Law is simply not the path of peace, according to Mr. Acheson; rather, he implied, law is something that is possible once that peace has been established by responsible powers. He pointed out that Washington, D.C., has more courts per square mile than any other place in the world, yet not even security from violence may be enjoyed on its streets. Drawing his lessons in international law from ordinary human relations, he pointed out that world order would not be established even by accelerated development of the poor nations. "The record of juvenile delinquents in the affluent suburbs," he noted, "warns that the old Adam in mankind will not be exorcised by economic improvement or social uplift alone."

Sounding ever more and more like a reluctant dragon, Mr. Acheson went on to explain why law wouldn't work in the international arena. Law depends on self-discipline and agreement on common goals and values; lacking that, law depends on power. He cited 19th century colonialism and the apogee of an international legal order. "The result was in large measure the maintenance of peace, security of person and property, respect for the obligation of contract, and greater economic development than in the whole period since the invention of sail and wheel," he said.

But today the world is in a revolutionary situation; order is an impediment of the values of the new nations, and indeed, self-discipline appears to them as a relic of the past.

The aptness of Mr. Acheson's remarks has been sharpened by events since last May. He himself cited the United Nations—so dear to the hearts of the World Law advocates—as a prime example of the flouting of law. In Cyprus, for example, the enforcement of "peace" has meant the abrogation of the Cypriot constitution; in Rhodesia, the U.N. has resorted to breaking its own constitution.

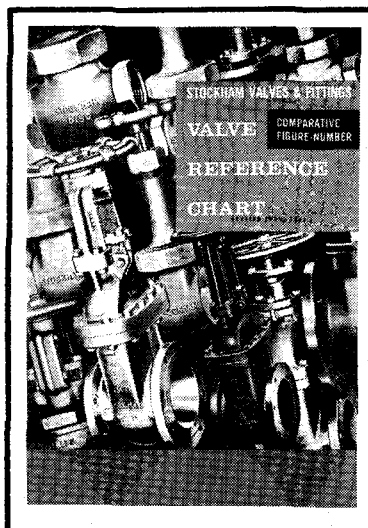
Since he spoke, a more dramatic example has been the reaction of the African nations to the decision of the World Court on South-West Africa. Even though the court acted upon strictly legal principles—and made a point of so doing—the African nations were outraged. They were more interested in achieving their aim than in impartial and orderly justice.

Mr. Acheson has greatly changed his views from the Truman years.

It is refreshing to hear Dean Acheson talk this way, especially when it's bound to stir up his old colleagues down at State. "The conditions of today require not only negotiation from strength, but negotiation *with* strength," he said. The diplomats presiding over today's international negotiations must wonder what's got into the fellow, but in our hearts, *we* know he's right.

□ □ □

SEN. MORSE'S SELF-PRAISE—Most senators are content to read and file the letters and telegrams they receive praising their stand on a given issue. But not Sen. Wayne Morse. He puts them in the *Congressional Record*. Morse has filed 194 pages of the *Record* with laudatory words in support of his criticism of the Administration's Viet Nam policy. The *Congressional Record* is printed at government expense. At a printing cost of $104 a page, Morse's display of self-praise has thus far cost taxpayers $20,176. For the cost of the words 67 Vietnamese refugee families could be completely resettled. Or seven doctors could be sent to Viet Nam and treat a total of 25,000 Vietnamese civilians. So come now, senator! The war is expensive enough as it is. If you cannot make your point in 194 pages you'll never make it anyway.—From the Brunswick *News*, Brunswick, Ga.



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The Russian Bolshoi Ballet performs in New York on nationwide tour.

Jazz Stars in USSR

State Department Does Nothing About Harassment of U.S. Group

From the Allen-Scott Report

The State Department's endless capacity for tepid chiding and patient tolerance in dealing with Soviet highhandedness and duplicity is as incomprehensible as it is stupid and futile.

Time and again the Russians have brazenly and insolently violated explicit understandings and written agreements, and all the State Department has done has been either to look the other way or, what amounts to the same thing, reprovingly to "protest the arbitrary action."

Never is there immediate and forceful retaliation. Always the State Department pussyfoots and rationalizes, and invariably Moscow gets away with its affront and offense.

What has just happened to the Earl (Fatha) Hines jazz band touring Russia, under the recently renewed cultural exchange treaty, is the latest example of this State Department fatuousness.

In direct violation of a carefully worked out and approved schedule of performances by these outstanding jazz musicians in Moscow, Leningrad and other major cities, the Kremlin abruptly and without explanation shunted them to small centers in the provincial Black Sea area. Before this sudden shift in itinerary, the Hines players had scored tremendous hits in the Ukrainian capital Kiev, the Georgian capital Tiflis, and the Armenian capital Erivan, particularly among the young people who overflowed the auditoriums to hear them. These exuberantly enthusiastic receptions obviously distressed the Communist rulers.

They clashed squarely with the official propaganda line that the Soviet masses are up in arms over U.S. Viet Nam policy. There wasn't the slightest indication of that among the cheering throngs that acclaimed the Hines jazz group. So they were curtly banned to the sticks.

Instead of instantly recalling the band and scathingly blasting the Kremlin for flouting both the letter and spirit of the new cultural exchange agreement, the department directed the U.S. embassy in Moscow to go through the motions of making an "oral protest" to the foreign office against the "arbitrary action in changing an already prearranged schedule."

Needless to say, the Russians couldn't care less. They didn't even bother to reply. Why should they—particularly in view of the State Department's disclosure, in response to a newsman's question, that no retaliation is contemplated against two leading Soviet attractions slated to make extensive U.S. tours in the fall.

They are the Moscow Chamber Orchestra and Ukrainian Folk Dance Ensemble. Their schedules call for more than a score of performances in principal U.S. cities, which are certain to net hundreds of thousands of dollars—to the Kremlin. The Bolshoi Ballet's country-wide tour last spring netted the Reds well over $1 million.

That very profitable trip was permitted by the State Department despite the Soviet's clearcut violation of the previous cultural exchange treaty in barring the world-famed "Hello, Dolly" musical with a cast headed by Mary Martin.

Other than "protesting" this outrage, the State Department did nothing. In fact, less than nothing. Instead of retaliating by excluding the Bolshoi Ballet, the "cookie pushers" welcomed it with open arms. They clustered around the Russian dancers like flies when they performed in Washington.

This fatuous record may explain why the department has yet to send to Congress its annual report on the cultural exchange program. This is supposed to be submitted by July 1. But more than a month has passed and nothing has been received by the Senate and House foreign affairs committees. Members are beginning to ask questions, and talking of making a formal demand for a report.

★ ★ ★

The United States is facing new Communist provocations in West Berlin.

On the eve of the fifth anniversary of the Red wall, the Russians and East Germans are driving numerous pilings inside West Berlin to tighten security along the explosive border.

East German engineers, directed by Soviet officers, are placing steel and wood pilings in an area along the Spree River 90 feet inside beleaguered West Berlin.

This covert Soviet move, discovered by U.S. patrols, has triggered a series of meetings by President Johnson and his chief foreign and military advisers.

Intelligence officials also warned the White House that impressive information has been obtained that the East Germans, supported by the Russians, are preparing a series of air and ground harassments against West Berlin's communication lines.

These new Red "provocations" are slated to take place in September, around the time Chancellor Erhard departs for the United States. The West German leader is due in Washington September 27 for a series of conferences with President Johnson.

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More Poverty Politicking

Votes Are Where You Find Them

From the Indianapolis *Star*

A group of trainees for Volunteers In Service To America (VISTA) at a training session here recently was addressed by the Democratic chairman of Marion County, James Beatty.

The VISTA project is a part of the federal anti-poverty program. Volunteers are assigned to work with "poverty-stricken people."

Following is a paragraph taken verbatim from a press release distributed by Communication Counselors, Inc.:

"Beatty urged the youthful volunteers to organize their people 'to take advantage of their greatest asset, their sheer numbers, to register and vote for men and women who will work for the legislation we need to bring an end to the cycle of poverty, ignorance and blight that traps so many.'"

If this was not a blunt exhortation to the VISTA workers to organize the poor into a voting bloc for the Democratic party, we'll eat our hat.

The press release also said this lecture by Beatty was one of a series given the VISTA volunteers to prepare them for their work. We wonder if VISTA programs all over the country include the same kind of training.

These are volunteers. Reading the press release we found ourselves remembering that there is a well-organized campaign under way to sell a proposal for universal service in which all young men in the country—and perhaps all young women as well—would be drafted either into the military services or into social work projects such as VISTA. Can you imagine the political power which could be built up by putting one or two million young people a year into federally sponsored social work programs, trained to organize people into voting blocs for more of the same?

It would be the greatest political machine the world has ever seen.

Maybe it already is.

Army Now Allows Publication Of MacArthur's War Records

By WALTER TROHAN

Next month the United States Army will release one of the most important publications of World War II, a four-volume set of the complete war reports of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, the supreme commander for the allied powers in the Pacific. The work, like the man, has had a curious and dramatic history.

Preparation of the reports took four years, from 1947 to 1951, in Japan under the direction of Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, long an intelligence chief for MacArthur. The work was to have been published by a Japanese publishing firm in Tokyo, when former President Truman fired the general who wanted to win the war in Korea.

In connection with the dismissal of MacArthur, his records were confiscated by Truman. Because of the confiscation, which MacArthur said he regarded as "one of the most prejudiced and unprecedented in American history," MacArthur opposed the publication of his reports although the Japanese publisher had completed the copper plates for the work, which were turned over to the Army.

The confiscation of MacArthur's records was the more strange since Presidents have begun using more or less official papers and correspondence as the keystone of private memorial libraries. Tax deductions have been taken on such documents although some persons have raised the question whether many of the documents are not actually public property.

The first volume of the series is a general one on Japanese operations in the Pacific. The second is on Japanese operations in the Pacific, which was compiled from official records and edited by a ranking Japanese staff officer. The last two volumes are on the occupation of Japan.

Although the publication has been delayed 15 years, it comes at a good time in view of the war in Viet Nam, which emphasizes the stake the non-Communist world has in the Pacific. The work serves to detail the brilliance of MacArthur as a soldier, which hardly needs additional demonstration, but the last two volumes serve to emphasize his role as a statesman in the occupation of Japan.

The general and his men produced a miracle of peaceful recovery. These works serve to show that the military can be trusted to win the peace as well as win the war. However, successes in war are marked by medals while successes in peace too often escape notice.

In MacArthur's case, he gave loyalty to his men in war and in peace and they returned it to him in work well done. Like any responsible commander he looked after his men and they, in turn, looked after him.

MacArthur foresaw the ultimate restoration of Japan under its emperor, who sought to maintain peace but was crowded into war by Japanese militarists. He saw Japan as the balancing force in Asia. Had the same concept been worked out in Europe by restoration of a united Germany under democratic leadership, the Communist menace would be less around the world.

MacArthur, the old soldier, has faded away, but his memory will never die. These four volumes will help make immortality certain. It is to be regretted that there isn't a fifth volume covering every phase of the confrontation that led to dismissal over conduct of the Korean War, but that leaves a project for a worthy and dedicated team to undertake.

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Invading North Viet Nam Is Only 'Sound' Strategy

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The statements of Prime Minister Ky of South Viet Nam about the strategic essentiality of carrying the war to North Viet Nam are the plain, unvarnished truth. They compliment his intelligence, his knowledge and his courage.

The rejection of these statements by our State Department and the American press underscores the continuing error of U.S. policy. The Administration refuses to face reality—and that is why it is bogged down in a steadily widening war.

Can South Viet Nam end this war without invading North Viet Nam? The answer is a flat no! The United States can devastate North Viet Nam from the air, but Madrid, London and Hamburg testify that bombing is not decisive against a determined enemy. Prime Minister Ky, an airman, knows this. "For the final victory to end the war, you need ground troops," he said.

Bombing will punish North Viet Nam. It will destory facilities and handicap industrial processes, but it will not stop the war. Ho Chi Minh can fight effectively from the rubble as Britain did, as long as his territory is not invaded.

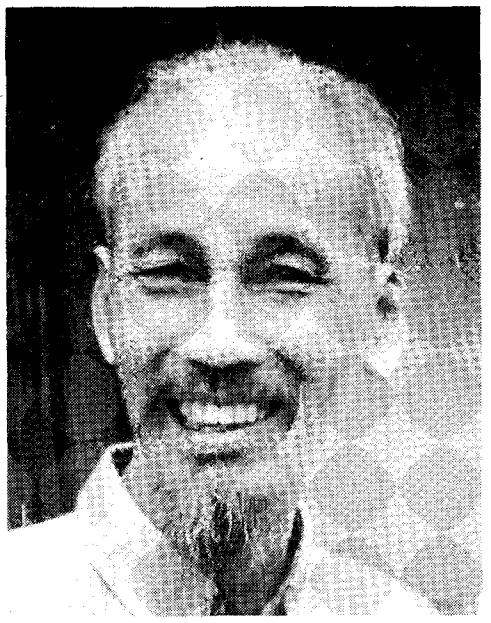
It is the invasion of his territory, the destruction of his armed forces, the rebellion of his people, that haunts the dreams of Ho Chi Minh. Would his people welcome the invaders as the Soviet people welcomed the German invaders in 1941? Would his army desert his cause and join the liberation movement for a Viet Nam united in freedom?

Ho Chi Minh has weighed these questions carefully and he fears the answers. But he does not fear the U.S. bombing as long as the United States protects him from invasion from the south.

Some American newsmen have misrepresented Prime Minister Ky's statements as a call for war with Red China. The prime minister merely stated the obvious truth that the risk of confrontation with Red China is better faced now than later. It was these newsmen who jumped to the conclusion that invasion of North Viet Nam would bring Red China into the war.

The crux of the matter is that invasion of North Viet Nam will not bring Red China into the war unless President Johnson allows Red China itself sanctuary as President Truman did in Korea. If President Johnson makes it clear that Red Chinese intervention against an invasion of North Viet Nam will provoke U.S. air warfare and other measures against the China mainland, Peking will not intervene in Viet Nam.

Come, let us reason together. When our free world ally is assaulted by a Communist neighbor, should it fight the ensuing war on its own soil or should it carry the devastation of war back to the territory of the aggressor? Every schoolboy knows the answer to that question. Our tragedy is that President Johnson still refuses to give the correct answer.



Invasion of his territory frightens Ho Chi Minh much more than bombing.

Under the turbulent surface of South Vietnamese politics, power has rested in the Armed Forces Council ever since the overthrow of the Minh junta in January 1964. The council has had only two spokesmen, first Gen. Nguyen Khanh and now Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky. Both leaders have called for invasion of the north. The requirements of war which may be obscure to distant Americans are obvious to men defending their country.

Somehow Prime Minister Ky must overcome this fundamental error of U.S. strategy if the long war which his people have suffered is to be ended.

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Will IAM Settlement Rejection Bring Drastic New Legislation?

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

The unfortunate decision of the rank-and-file members of the International Association of Machinists to reject the generous contract terms negotiated by the union leadership with five major airlines may result in punitive legislation against all types of strikes involving transportation.

The IAM was on thin ice even before the membership repudiated its leaders and embarrassed President Johnson by rejecting the agreement he announced to an expectant nation on nationwide television.

Had the Machinists gone along with the proposal, much of the public indignation over the inconvenience caused by the unwarranted strike might have evaporated along with talk of forced arbitration and other drastic steps to end the walkout.

But now public opinion has turned completely against not only the Machinists, but all unions, and not only in transportation. Congress is certain to enact some sort of legislation neither labor nor management will like, going far beyond the action which had been contemplated only to break the present deadlock.

The Machinists didn't realize that they were playing with fire in more ways than one when they pulled their airline work stoppage at this time.

This happens to be a campaign year and congressmen and senators of both parties find it necessary to spend more and more time in their home bailiwicks campaigning.

With Congress in session, their only opportunity to do this is on weekends and unless they live close enough to Washington to get home by train, private car, or bus, they naturally depend on planes to make their weekend trips.

When congressmen talked of "inconvenience to the public" caused by the strike, you can bet that they themselves constituted an important segment of the "public."

Even when the present strike is finally settled, it is likely that the walkout will add fuel to demands for a revision of labor and management regulatory laws on strikes in the public transportation area.

These strikes appear to generate more protests from the public than any other kind. Transportation strikes, whether airlines, railroads, bus or subway, cause immediate public sufferings and personal aggravations.

As our country becomes more congested, especially around urban areas, uninterrupted operation of transportation facilities becomes an absolute necessity.

Labor unions today control all forms of transportation and can and do stop its operations if management, either private or public, does not concede to organized labor's demands.

How to enact legislation that will consider the worker's legitimate requests and also management's prerogative to operate an efficient and profitable enterprise is a difficult task for Congress.

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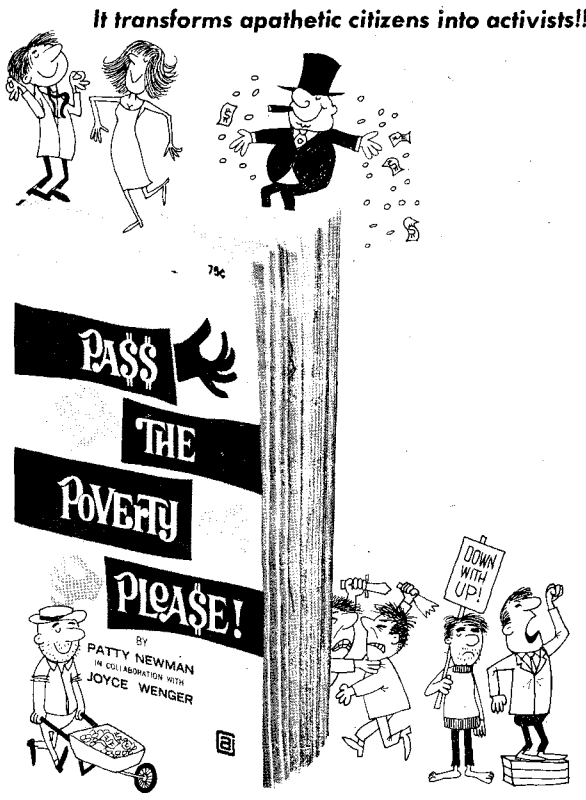

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Polls Provide Optimistic Note for Conservatives

Many LBJ programs unpopular even in districts he carried in '64

By BILL SCHULZ

A series of polls conducted in widely scattered congressional districts indicates massive disenchantment with the Johnson Administration.

The surveys were all conducted in districts carried by Lyndon Johnson in 1964. Without exception, they disclose rising opposition to the policies, foreign and domestic, of the President.

For example, Johnson carried Massachusetts' 12th Congressional District by more than 2 to 1 in 1964. A recent survey by Rep. Hastings Keith (R.-Mass.) shows that the district voters oppose the Administration's plan for increased East-West trade (2-1), the poverty program (6-1), and continued foreign aid (6-1).

Pennsylvania's 18th Congressional District gave LBJ 57 per cent of the vote two years ago. Eighty-seven per cent of these voters now oppose the foreign aid program and 88 per cent view the "War on Poverty" as a failure. Three out of four voters feel the Administration is managing the news and a solid majority want the President to mount an "all-out" offensive to win the war in Viet Nam, according to Rep. Robert J. Corbett (R.-Pa.), who ordered the survey.

The President carried North Carolina's 8th Congressional District by 55 per cent two years ago. Rep. Charles Jonas (R.-N. C.) recently surveyed his constituents and discovered they oppose the rent subsidy program 7-1, the "fair housing" bill 5-1, and the "War on Poverty" 3-1.

Rep. John Wydler (R.-N. Y.) polled his district, which gave Johnson 58 per cent of the vote two years ago. Nine of every 10 voters now see the anti-poverty program as a flop and eight of nine oppose federal rent subsidies. Ninety-one per cent of those polled said that inflation had become a major problem.

Pennsylvania's 8th Congressional District gave Johnson 62 per cent of the vote two years ago. But Rep. Willard Curtin (R.-Pa.) now finds tremendous opposition to the President's program. Only 28 per cent of Curtin's constituents support the chief executive on repeal of Taft-Hartley's right-to-work provision. Three of every four voters favor a reduction in domestic spending and five of six oppose such Administration innovations as the rent subsidy program.

A nationwide poll conducted for the Republican National Committee indicates that 61 per cent of the American people now give LBJ an "unfavorable" rating. The survey, conducted by the highly respected Opinion Research Corp., of Princeton, N.J., reveals that the Johnson popularity has plummeted badly, among Democrats and Republicans alike.

As late as October 1965, according to Opinion Research, 58 per cent of the voting public gave LBJ a favorable rating, with 35 per cent unfavorable and 7 per cent holding no opinion. Nine months later, only 32 per cent were satisfied with the President's performance. Sixty-one per cent were anti-Johnson and 7 per cent were unsure.

Opinion Research finds that Johnson has an unfavorable rating with 45 per cent of the voters who classify themselves as liberals, 60 per cent of the moderates, and 78 per cent of the conservatives. Almost half the voters who cast a straight Democratic ticket in 1964 are now dissatisfied with the President's program.

★ ★ ★

Perth Amboy Mayor James J. Flynn has accused anti-poverty workers of fomenting riots in his city. Flynn said that Milton Zatinsky, director of the local Economic Opportunity Corps, sought to "incite unrest, agitation and disorder" during a recent outbreak in which 28 persons were injured.

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The congressional districts of John Wydler (R.-N. Y.), left, and Charles Jonas (R.-N. C.) both went for Lyndon Johnson in 1964, but polls of the voters show that they now heavily object to such LBJ measures as the "War on Poverty" and the rent subsidy scheme.

Checking the Record

Barry Goldwater's 'False Image'

From the Arizona *Republic*

Reminiscing about Barry Goldwater's recent visit to Washington, where he addressed the National Press Club, New York *Times* Washington Bureau Chief Tom Wicker wrote:

"Not enough Americans got a look at this likable Goldwater during the 1964 campaign . . . . Millions of Americans saw him only as a dour, bespectacled, rather frightening figure . . . propounding vaguely frightening propositions from a faraway podium while the ever-present faithful screamed fanatically."

Added Wicker: "The image never did do credit to the man . . . ."

Perhaps the reason it never did credit to Goldwater was because it was a false image—one sedulously cultivated by his ideological enemies in the press, and by no publication more tirelessly than Wicker's own newspaper.

On June 21, 1964, Wicker himself explained how it was largely the "army of the discontented and frustrated" who supported Goldwater — segregationists and those who saw Communist plots everywhere. And on July 10, 1965 (this time in the *New Republic*), Wicker remembered Goldwater as "ignorant or ill-informed," "devious if not deliberately divisive," "coexisting with some of the shabbiest elements in political life."

Wicker, however, was somewhat more restrained than some of his colleagues.

Thus on June 7, 1964, the *Times* accused the GOP presidential nominee of offering "a prescription not for peace and prosperity, but for disaster."

Six days later it scored his "anti-quarianism," and said he offered "retrogressive political philosophy" and a "fast-trigger foreign policy."

He was out of the mainstream of even Calvin Coolidge (July 1, 1964).

His platform provided "a new and reactionary look to the GOP" (July 13).

James Reston noticed Goldwater's "fascination with military power" (July 13).

Times editorial writers found him "so reactionary a conservative as to be a political anachronism" (July 14).

Reston (July 16) found him attractive to "all the ultras, and the antis—the forces that are anti-Negro, anti-labor, anti-foreigner, anti-intellectual."

Timesman Max Frankel found **fear in the White House and the State Department that a Goldwater victory would mean that "extreme or right-wing forces in West Germany will be emboldened to come forward with strident nationalistic, irridentist and anti-Communist programs . . . ." (Get it?)**

Times editors found the "reactionary wing of the GOP" prevailing (July 16).

A few days later they discovered that Goldwater was a "hard-core" right-winger, as well as a "radical-reactionary."

On July 20, the *Times* blamed Goldwater for the weekend violence in Harlem.

On August 30 it condemned his "negative, almost nihilistic approach—a kind of reactionary radicalism of the right."

On September 24 it stated that Goldwater did not inhabit "the same contemporary world" as LBJ.

And on November 4 the *Times* rejoiced in the defeat of a man who "sought to fashion an electoral victory out of the fears, hates and frustrations of disaffected citizens."

It may be some small comfort to Barry Goldwater to know that *Times*man Wicker, some 21 months after his paper led the hysterical attack against the Arizonan, believes that "The image never did do credit to the man . . . ."

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Costly Packaging Bill

By REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

The question of the week before a key congressional committee is whether the nation's consumers are prepared to pay the higher food and grocery costs which would result from passage of the proposed federal Packaging and Labeling Act. When I posed the question before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, no one had the answer. As I suggested to the committee members, the consumers of our nation need higher food prices right now about as much as they need square wheels on their grocery carts. The bill in question cleared the Senate several weeks ago. During Senate hearings testimony by expert witnesses indicated that in order to comply with the standard packaging weight requirements of the bill, food and grocery manufacturing plants would be forced to change their packaging methods and equipment at a tremendous cost which would be passed on to the consumer. . . . In order to meet the "even weights" requirements, one manufacturer estimated the cost to his operations would be at least $10 million for new equipment and equipment modifications, in addition to $3 million in recurring annual costs because of manufacturing inefficiencies and additional packaging material costs. A food manufacturer estimated additional operating costs of over $2 million annually. Another food manufacturer estimated as much as 25 per cent increased costs. And you may be sure it is the consumer who would end up paying for these increased costs through higher food and grocery bills.

Confused Treasury

By SEN. KARL MUNDT (R.-S. D.)

A local radio station caused some surprise one morning with the report it had received calls from listeners that the flag in front of the U.S. Treasury building was flying upside down. If the reports were correct, the "distress" signal was significant and understandable—that also was the day the government announced the highest increase in the cost of living for a six-month period in this decade!

Defense Financing

By REP. GLENARD LIPSCOMB (R.-Calif.)

The matter of financing the war in Viet Nam should be squarely faced. Supplying the needs of our military men in combat should not be done through reliance on authority contained in the law to meet emergency situations such as that which gives secretary of defense transfer authority – or through use of emergency funds, reprograming actions, or other financial juggling techniques which mortgages other needs and programs. . . .

A prime example of the inadequacy of the defense budget as submitted was the request for funds to support military personnel. Once the over-all size of the military forces is established, it should be essentially a mechanical calculation to figure out what the cost is going to be. The funds for military personnel were understated by well over half a billion dollars in the budget by the secretary of defense.

Though the current estimate of our military strength is 3,095,700, military strength for fiscal year 1967 was budgeted at 2,987,300, a difference of 108,400. The committee in this case recognized this gross deficiency in the budget and has added $569 million to support this miscalculation in our manpower strength. Without this added appropriation the military services personnel funds would have been in serious financial trouble.

Government by Fear

By REP. MELVIN LAIRD (R.-Wis.)

Official Washington is, to put it quite simply, afraid of the President of the United States—afraid of the arbitrary and ruthless use of his legal powers and extralegal means of influence. The incidents and attitudes . . . are many—the decline in objective reporting of the President's foreign and domestic policies, the threats of stockpile dumping in the aluminum price increase dispute, the fund-raising successes of the Democratic National Committee, the extraordinary intimidation of the Sierra Club by the Internal Revenue Service and, finally, the pressures put on government employes in the U.S. Savings Bond drive. They all add up to one conclusion: this Administration is governing by fear, not by democratic processes and fair procedures.

More Wishful Thinking at State

Department underestimates Latin American dangers

By REP. JACK EDWARDS (R.-Ala.)

Recently I addressed an inquiry to the State Department to ask what the official reaction has been to the Communist Tri-Continental Conference held in Havana in January [see *Human Events*, Feb. 5, 1966, page 6.] I also wanted to know what our current position is regarding the general matter of Communist subversion in Latin America as supported from Cuba.

The State Department response is now at hand, and in my judgment it reveals the same kind of wishful thinking and short-sightedness that has marked most of U.S. foreign policy failures in recent years.

I had asked, for example, whether the Havana conference, as inspired by Moscow, did not show a definite departure from Moscow's public policy of "peaceful coexistence" in favor of a very militant policy based on armed guerrilla warfare of the Viet Cong style.

I referred to the keynote speech of the Russian delegation at Havana calling for Latin American Communists to use the Viet Cong example in their terroristic activities in their own home countries.

The State Department, according to the letter sent to me, avoids meeting this issue directly. The letter admits to the "aggressive intent" of the conference but proceeds to disassociate Russia from it.

They take the position that this is really just Castro speaking and that Latin Americans will be able to rebuff Cuban efforts to expand Communist influence. They say, "it is much too early to reach any conclusions."

The fact is that it is always "much too early" for the State Department bureaucracy to reach useful conclusions. When the Communists tried to take over the Dominican Republic in 1965, the State Department people really doubted the extent of Communist influence. Now a great deal of evidence shows that the Communists played a major part.

Our action preventing the take-over was successful, but this was in spite of the State Department.

A second major point in my inquiry was about Russian shipments of military equipment to Cuba, and about Cuban export of guerrilla warfare materials to other Latin American countries.

The State Department's response is candid in saying: "We are not attempting to prevent the flow of [Communist] bloc military supplies into Cuba." It adds, as an afterthought in parentheses, that we would not permit the installation of "offensive weapons systems" in Cuba.

The letter goes on to say that we are trying to prevent the flow of military material from Cuba to other hemisphere countries. "This effort is believed to have been largely successful," says the State Department.

It appears to me that our State Department badly underestimates the dangers of the situation now, just as it has underestimated the problem consistently over the years.

The Panamanian government has acknowledged, for example, that riots in that country in June were a result of the Havana conference. Until we have some evidence to the contrary, it would be a tragic mistake to feel that Cuban Communists are being prevented from sending trained guerrillas and arms into Latin America.

As the late Marguerite Higgins said just a year ago: "In Viet Nam we waited until almost the 11th hour before attempting seriously to interrupt outside sources of supply of men and material. Isn't there a lesson to be learned from that tragedy? Or are we to be paralyzed into inaction by failing to take seriously Castro's threats of turning Latin America into a series of Viet Nams?"

House 'Open Housing' Rollcall

Below is the 222-to-190 rollcall vote by which the House on August 9 defeated a motion to eliminate the open housing provision from the civil rights bill (a vote for the motion was a vote to kill the housing title). The bill is expected to face a stiff battle — possibly even a filibuster—in the Senate. For more on the civil rights bill, see page 3.

Democrats Against: 172

Adams (Wash.), Addabbo (N.Y.), Albert (Okla.), Annunzio (Ill.), Ashley (Ohio), Bandstra (Iowa), Barrett (Pa.), Bingham (N.Y.), Boland (Mass.), Bolling (Mo.), Brademas (Ind.), Brooks (Tex.), Brown (Calif.), Burke (Mass.), Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Callan (Neb.), Carey (N.Y.), Celler (N.Y.), Clark (Pa.), Clevenger (Mich.), Cohelan (Calif.), Conyers (Mich.), Corman (Calif.), Craley (Pa.), Culver (Iowa), Daddario (Conn.), Daniels (N.J.), Dawson (Ill.), Delaney (N.Y.), Dent (Pa.), Denton (Ind.), Diggs (Mich.), Dingell (Mich.), Donohue (Mass.), Dow (N.Y.), Dulski (N.Y.), Duncan (Ore.), Dyal (Calif.), Evans (Colo.), Farbstein (N.Y.), Farnsley (Ky.), Farnum (Mich.), Fascell (Fla.), Feighan (Ohio), Flood (Pa.), Fogarty (R.I.), Wm. Ford (Mich.), Fridel (Md.), Fulton (Tenn.), Gallagher (N.J.), Giaimo (Conn.), Gibbons (Fla.), Gilbert (N.Y.), Gilligan (Ohio), Gonzalez (Tex.), Grabowski (Conn.), Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Gregg (Iowa), Grider (Tenn.), Griffiths (Mich.), Hamilton (Ind.), Hanley (N.Y.), Hansen (Iowa), Hansen (Wash.), Hathaway (Me.), Helstoski (N.J.), Holifield (Calif.), Holland (Pa.), Howard (N.J.), Huot (N.J.), Irwin (Conn.), Jacobs (Ind.), Joelson (N.J.), Johnson (Calif.), Johnson (Okla.), Karsten (Mo.), Karth (Minn.), Kastenmeier (Wis.), Kee (W.Va.), Kelly (N.Y.), Keogh (N.Y.), King (Calif.), King (Utah), Kirwan (Ohio), Kluczynski (Ill.), Krebs (N.J.), Leggett (Calif.), Long (Md.), Love (Ohio), McCarthy (N.Y.), McDowell (Del.), McFall (Calif.), McGrath (N.J.), McVicker (Colo.), MacDonald (Mass.), Mackie (Mich.), Madden (Ind.), Matsunaga (Hawaii), Meeds (Wash.), Miller (Calif.), Minish (N.J.), Mink (Hawaii), Monagan (Conn.), Moorhead (Pa.), Morgan (Pa.), Moss (Calif.), Multer (N.Y.), Murphy (Ill.), Nedzi (Mich.), Nix (Pa.), O'Brien (N.Y.), O'Hara (Ill.), O'Hara (Mich.), Olsen (Mont.), Olson (Minn.), O'Neill (Mass.), Ottinger (N.Y.), Patten (N.J.), Pepper (Fla.), Perkins (Ky.), Philbin (Mass.), Pike (N.Y.), Price (Ill.), Pucinski (Ill.), Redlin (N.D.), Rees (Calif.), Resnick (N.Y.), Reuss (Wis.), Rhodes (Pa.), Rivers (Alaska), Rodino (N.J.), Rogers (Colo.), Ronan (Ill.), Roncalio (Wyo.), Rooney (N.Y.), Rooney (Pa.), Rosenthal (N.Y.), Rostenkowski (Ill.), Roush (Ind.), Royball (Calif.), Ryan (N.Y.), St. Germain (R.I.), St. Onge (Conn.), Scheuer (N.Y.), Schisler (Ill.), Schmidhaser (Iowa), Senner (Ariz.), Shipley (Ill.), Sickles (Md.), Sisk (Calif.), Smith (Iowa), Staggers (W.Va.), Stalbaum (Wis.), Stratton (N.Y.), Sullivan (Mo.), Sweeney (Ohio), Tenzer (N.Y.), Thompson (N.J.), Todd (Mich.), Tunney (Calif.), Udall (Ariz.), Vanik (Ohio), Vigorito (Pa.), Vivian (Mich.), Waldie (Calif.), Weltner (Ga.), White (Idaho), Charles H. Wilson (Calif.), Wolff (N.Y.), Yates (Ill.)

Democrats For: 104

Abbitt (Va.), Abernethy (Miss.), Anderson (Tenn.), Ashmore (S.C.), Aspinall (Colo.), Baring (Nev.), Beckworth (Tex.), Bennett (Fla.), Boggs (La.), Burleson (Tex.), Cabell (Tex.), Cameron (Calif.), Casey (Tex.), Chelf (Ky.), Colmer (Miss.), Cooley (N.C.), Davis (Ga.), De La Garza (Tex.), Dorn (S.C.), Dowdy (Tex.), Downing (Va.), Edmondson (Okla.), Everett (Tenn.), Evins (Tenn.), Fallon (Md.), Fisher (Tex.), Flynt (Ga.), Foley (Wash.), Fountain (N.C.), Fuqua (Fla.), Garmatz (Md.), Gathings (Ark.), Gettys (S.C.), Gray (Ill.), Hagan (Ga.), Hagen (Calif.), Haley (Fla.), Hardy (Va.), Hays (Ohio), Hebert (La.), Hechler (W.Va.), Henderson (N.C.), Herlong (Fla.), Hicks (Wash.), Hull (Mo.), Hungate (Mo.), Ichord (Mo.), Jarman (Okla.), Jennings (Va.), Jones (Ala.), Jones (Mo.), Jones (N.C.), Kornegay (N.C.), Landrum (Ga.), Lennon (N.C.), Long (La.), McMillan (S.C.), Machen (Md.), Mackay (Ga.), Mahon (Tex.), Marsh (Va.), Matthews (Fla.), Mills (Ark.), Moeller (Ohio), Morris (N.M.), Natcher (Ky.), O'Neal (Ga.), Passman (La.), Patman (Tex.), Pickle (Tex.), Poage (Tex.), Pool (Tex.), Purcell (Tex.), Race (Wis.), Randall (Mo.), Rivers (S.C.), Roberts (Tex.), Rogers (Fla.), Satterfield (Va.), Scott (N.C.), Secret (Ohio), Selden (Ala.), Sikes (Fla.), Slack (W.Va.), Smith (Va.), Steed (Okla.), Stephens (Ga.), Stubblefield (Ky.), Taylor (N.C.), Teague (Tex.), Thomas (Tex.), Thompson (Tex.), Trimble (Ark.), Tuck (Va.), Tuten (Ga.), Waggoner (La.), Walker (N.M.), Watts (Ky.), White (Tex.), Whitener (N.C.), Whitten (Miss.), Wright (Tex.), Young (Tex.), Zablocki (Wis.)

Republicans For: 86

Adair (Ind.), Anderson (Ill.), Glenn Andrews (Ala.), Andrews (N.D.), Arends (Ill.), Ashbrook (Ohio), Battin (Mont.), Belcher (Okla.), Berry (S.D.), Betts (Ohio), Bolton (Ohio), Bow (Ohio), Bray (Ind.), Brock (Tenn.), Broomfield (Mich.), Broyhill (N.C.), Broyhill (Va.), Buchanan (Ala.), Burton (Utah), Callaway (Ga.), Carter (Ky.), Cederberg (Mich.), Chamberlain (Mich.), Clancy (Ohio), Don Clausen (Calif.), Del Clawson (Calif.), Collier (Ill.), Cramer (Fla.), Curtin (Pa.), Curtis (Mo.), Dague (Pa.), Derwinski (Ill.), Devine (Ohio), Dickinson (Ala.), Duncan (Tenn.), Edwards (Ala.), Ellsworth (Kan.), Ford (Mich.), Gross (Iowa), Gubser (Calif.), Gurney (Fla.), Hall (Mo.), Halleck (Ind.), Hansen (Idaho), Harsha (Ohio), Harvey (Ind.), Hosmer (Calif.), Hutchinson (Mich.), Johnson (Pa.), Jonas (N.C.), Laird (Wis.), Langen (Minn.), Latta (Ohio), Lipscomb (Calif.), McEwen (N.Y.), Martin (Ala.), Martin (Neb.), Minshall (Ohio), Mize (Kan.), Moore (W. Va.), Morton (Md.), Nelsen (Minn.), O'Konski (Wis.), Pelly (Wash.), Poff (Va.), Quillen (Tenn.), Reid (Ill.), Reinecke (Calif.), Rhodes (Ariz.), Roudebush (Ind.), Saylor (Pa.), Shriver (Kan.), Skubitz (Kan.), Smith (Calif.), Stanton (Ohio), Talcott (Calif.), Teague (Calif.), Thomson (Wis.), Walker (Miss.), Watkins (Pa.), Whalley (Pa.), Bob Wilson (Calif.), Wyatt (Ore.), Younger (Calif.)

Republicans Against: 50

Ayres (Ohio), Bates (Mass.), Bell (Calif.), Brown (Ohio), Byrnes (Wis.), Cahill (N.J.), Cleveland (N.H.), Conable (N.Y.), Conte (Mass.), Corbett (Pa.), Cunningham (Neb.), Davis (Wis.), Dwyer (N.J.), Erlenborn (Ill.), Findley (Ill.), Fino (N.Y.), Frelinghuysen (N.J.), Fulton (Pa.), Goodell (N.Y.), Grover (NY.), Halpern (N.Y.), Harvey (Mich), Horton (N.Y.), Keith (Mass.), Kunkel (Pa.), Kupferman (N.Y.), McClory (Ill.), McCulloch (Ohio), McDade (Pa.), MacGregor (Minn.), Mailliard (Calif.), Martin (Mass.), Mathias (Md.), Michel (Ill.), Morse (Mass.), Mosher (Ohio), Pirnie (N.Y.), Quie (Minn.), Reid (N.Y.), Reifel (S.D.), Robison (N.Y.), Rumsfeld (Ill), Schneebeli (Pa.), Schweiker (Pa.), Smith (N.Y.), Springer (Ill.), Stafford (Vt.), Tupper (Maine), Widnall (N.J.), Wydler (N.Y.)

Democrats for, 104. Republicans for, 86. Total for, 190.

Democrats against, 172. Republicans against, 50. Total against, 222.

Recorded for but not actually voting: Hanna (Calif.), Willis (La.), George W. Andrews (Ala.), Rogers (Tex.), Edwards (La.), Murray (Tenn.), Williams (Miss.). (Democrats): May (Wash.), Watson (S.C.) Republicans).

Recorded against but not actually voting: Hawkins (Calif.), Murphy (N.Y.), Blatnik (Minn.), Edwards (Calif.), Vandeerlin (Calif.), Powell (N.Y.), Toll (Pa.), Fraser (Tenn.), Ullman (Ore.) (Democrats).

Absent or not voting, 3. Vacancies, 2. Total membership, 435.

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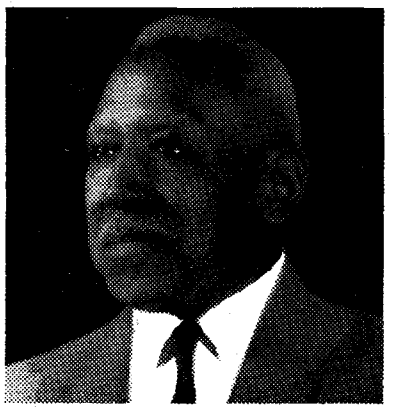

BLACK and CONSERVATIVE

The Autobiography of Negro conservative George S. Schuyler

Who said that all Negroes are poor . . . uneducated . . . "dangerous"? Who said no Negro will help himself without massive injections of federal aid from the "Great Society"? Who said there is no Negro middle class in America . . . or that there are no wealthy Negroes?

Above all, WHO SAID that Negroes — rich or poor — welcome the "pity pitch" that white Liberals have been handing out for years with cruel indifference to the fact that they are castrating Negro self-respect as they endlessly cry out, "Human rights! Human rights!"

BLACK AND CONSERVATIVE IS A SELECTION OF THE CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

"The welfare of Negroes is primarily the responsibility of Negroes."—George S. Schuyler

George S. Schuyler, successful journalist and the author of BLACK AND CONSERVATIVE, is the embodiment of a large and important segment of middle-class America: the successful, comfortable American Negro family. His new book presses hard for an answer to this: *"Why has the Liberal press rendered millions of successful Negroes completely invisible?* Why have the networks failed to acknowledge *this* part of our Negro population? People who want no government handouts . . . need no charity. Negro people who, without sit-ins and marches and bloody riots, have long ago shown that they can be as 'equal' as anybody."

Though BLACK AND CONSERVATIVE is autobiographical, its importance lies well beyond the fact that it is the engaging life story of a courageous newspaperman with an unpopular cause. Schuyler's experiences over the last four decades – first in the Socialist movement and then (as the folly of this cause revealed itself) as an ardent conservative and anti-Communist – are filled with important data that no American should be without.

He takes us back to the early days of the Socialist movement in America, and to the spreading infection of Communist thought in education and government during the 30's. But he *also* reveals the ways in which energetic Negroes have long been able to rise and flourish in "whitey's" world – without handouts. As a newspaper man, he is wonderfully adept at bringing to life key moments . . . key events . . . and key *people,* both on the left and right, who helped set the stage for today's world. You get important insights into men like Harry Bridges . . . Roy Wilkins . . . Louis Budenz . . . Ralph Bunche . . . John Chamberlain . . . Victor Lasky . . . Eugene Lyons . . . Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. . . . Norman Thomas . . . and many others.

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Above all, he pleads for patience, doesn't look for "instant perfection", maintains that America is dealing with its racial problems far more generously than any other nation. In a telling point, Schuyler cites the "revolution of rising expectations" as proof that American Negroes have not only been making rapid strides for decades; they *know* it. And that is precisely why they have expectations that Negroes elsewhere wouldn't dream of.

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- **The role of Robert C. Weaver, now LBJ's man in HUD.**
- **The deliberate myths attached to overcrowding in Harlem . . . and the myths about universal Negro self-hatred.**
- **How Socialist clothing unions preached brotherhood—and barred Negroes.**
- **Schuyler blows the whistle on W.E.B. DuBois.**
- **The origin of the slogan, "We shall overcome".**
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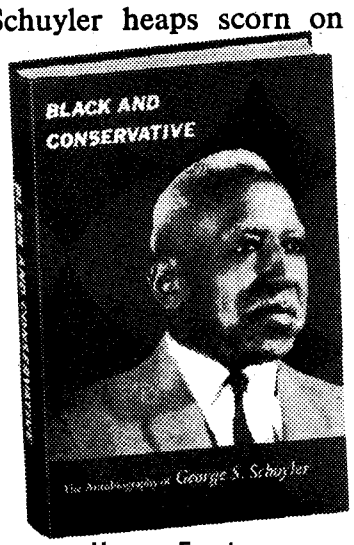

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